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A Journal of Opinion

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Vive Giraud, Vive de Gaulle!

That careful preparations have been made for the meeting in North Africa between de Gaulle and Giraud is very good news indeed. The two French leaders have a great deal in common. Both love their country, both are able soldiers and both, in the far-off days before Paris fell, were men of the Right. The chief difference between them seems to be that Giraud believes in the infantry, whereas de Gaulle believes in tanks. That is hardly enough to explain the state of suppressed civil war existing until now between their two factions.

But the real difference is in their followers, not in the leaders themselves. As the center of resistance to Hitler after the armistice, de Gaulle found himself surrounded chiefly—but by no means entirely—by people of the Left, because at first it was the working class that wanted to carry on the fight. Socialists, trade-union leaders and—in 1941—the French Communists enrolled under his banner. Giraud, from the moment when he landed in North Africa, has been surrounded by people of the Right. Recently a Gaullist in uniform was overheard quarreling with a Giraudist, also in uniform. "France," he said, "is going to be like Spain in 1936. You are serving in the White army and I in the Red army of the next civil war." The Giraudist made no answer.

But there is also the much greater army of Frenchmen who are more devoted to their country than to either side in the class struggle. This army includes men of every class and almost every political opinion, as well as the two military leaders. We have heard French sailors shouting, when no officers were present, "Vive Giraud! Vive de Gaulle!" and we are glad to echo their cry.

The one sound policy for Americans in the crisis is to encourage every step toward French unity, so long as it can be taken without sacrificing the democratic freedoms for which we are fighting. Lately the State Department, under public pressure, has shown some signs of adopting this policy. The various measures by which Giraud has been denazifying the government of North Africa were all approved—and quite possibly were inspired—by American diplomats. The groundwork is being laid for an agreement.

Yet most of the time State Department officials continue to act like boys at a high-school basketball game, cheering *their* side and hissing the de Gaullists. If Giraud makes a good speech, Mr. Hull holds a special press conference to say that it was simply marvelous. If de Gaulle makes a much better speech, Mr. Hull says nothing. French Guiana revolts from Vichy and sends a cablegram to de Gaulle asking him to appoint a governor. A copy of the cablegram is sent to Giraud —and reaches him—while the message to de Gaulle is mysteriously delayed. The State Department arranges passage to Guiana for a Giraudist emissary on the same day that it refuses to arrange passage for a representative of de Gaulle. This sort of petty intrigue and snobbery is hardly calculated to reconcile the two factions.

All Good Frenchmen Are Our Allies

And there is the long-continued story of the sailors from the Richelieu who want to join de Gaulle and fight the Germans. As we write, twelve of them are still confined on Ellis Island, on a charge that had to

CONTENTS

The Week 427
Editorials
Africa: Hitler's Last Chance 430
Prescription for Willow Run 431
General Articles
American-Soviet Friendship . . . . . Ralph Barton Perry 433
Why Workers Stay Home . . A. G. Mezerik 437
Has British Labor a Future? . . Jennie Lee 441
Farley Fights the President . . Helen Fuller 440
Union-Busting in Kansas . Russell M. Roberts 443
The Generals Ride Again . . Max Lerner 444
Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 446
Zanuck at the Front . . . Manny Farber 447
The Bandwagon 447
Correspondence 448
Books in Review
Personal History, Cont'd . Malcolm Cowley 450
The Beast in the Jungle . . . Alfred Kazin 451
Air Strategy . . . . . Gilbert Cant 452
Ordeal by Water . . . . Richard Rovere 453
A Reader's List 453

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be invented for the occasion, there being no law that made enlisting with the Free French a heinous crime. But that law is now being rushed through Congress, with the support of the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and, of course, the State Department. It provides that sailors from occupied countries who desert their ships in American ports can be deported to the country that is the present seat of their government in exile. Such a law might be very useful for preventing justified protests against ill treatment by underpaid and overworked merchant seamen. It will, however, become absolutely unnecessary for sailors of the French navy from the moment when de Gaulle and Giraud reach an agreement.

That agreement of all Frenchmen who want to free their country from the Nazis is the end toward which our diplomacy should be working. We simply cannot afford to favor the Right over the Left in French politics, thereby increasing disunity. Our ally is not one French faction or another, but the French nation.

The Scandal in Steel

It is difficult to discuss the new steel scandal in language that can go through the United States mails. At the Irvin Works of the Carnegie-Illinois Company, a subsidiary of U. S. Steel, 26,000 tons of inferior steel were produced and turned over to the government for the navy, the merchant marine and lend-lease. Records were falsified and fake analyses were made. High officials of the company say this was done without their knowledge and profess to be horrified, but the employees who did the actual work claim they had orders from above. Just where the guilt rising from below meets the indignation coming down from on top, we do not know. We do know that a long prison term would be richly appropriate for the individuals guilty. Here is one case where standard business morality—the morality that puts profits above product, whose motto is "get away with all you can"—is singularly out of place.

Life Magazine and Russia

The editors of Life Magazine have done an important job with their special issue of March 29 on the Soviet Union. For the first time a top-ranking American magazine with enormous circulation has undertaken to present to American readers the affirmative and favorable facts of the accomplishments of the Russian revolution. The editors do not gloss over historical facts like the ruthless liquidation of the kulaks and the suppression of civil liberty, but on the other hand they do not let what happened to the kulaks overbalance the fact that Russia solved one of her gravest problems by collectivizing agriculture. The Soviet Union was able to accomplish the dual purpose of doubling the agricultural output through the use of scientific farming on large tracts, while at the same time greatly reducing the size of the farm population; millions of peasants were released to move to the cities and furnish manpower for the heavy industry which in the long run may prove the greatest factor in the German defeat. The importance of this issue of Life is that for the first time a publication with an unimpeachable capitalistic background has acknowledged, and at length, that the Russian revolution has been the greatest success in Russian history and a very important one in the history of mankind in general. The Life issue is a concrete statement in the field of journalism of what Ralph Barton Perry states in terms of philosophy in this issue of The New Republic: Russia can live beside us in the camp of nations of good will, if we will let her.

Appeasement's Cry-Baby

The daily press reports that Juan Cárdenas, fascist Spain's ambassador to the United States, has made representations to our State Department over Thomas J. Hamilton's "Appeasement's Child: the Franco Regime in Spain." Mr. Hamilton's book is an uncolored, factual account of a nation in which hunger and death have been the order of the day since its people were "liberated" from democracy. There is no evidence that Señor Cárdenas questions Mr. Hamilton's facts: they are incontestable. It is, then, the truth that Señor Cárdenas finds uncomfortable, and it is the simple telling of the truth against which he protests. We trust that Franco's ambassador will be informed that he is dealing with a democracy in which the telling of truth is the first business of reporters. The attempts of Franco adherents to alter the forthcoming film, "For Whom the Bell Tolls," seem happily to have ended in failure. It is to be hoped that any effort to suppress or distort the findings of "Appeasement's Child" will come to the same end. It is time that Señor Cárdenas and those for whom he speaks were taught a lesson in democracy.

The New Food Administrator

President Roosevelt has at last recognized the nationwide clamor against Secretary Wickard as Food Administrator. He has been replaced by Chester Davis, once head of the AAA and later director of the Federal Reserve Bank in St. Louis. That the job needed a new boss seemed self-evident; complaints against Wickard had become so universal and widespread that he had become a political liability. Whether Davis will measure up to his huge job remains to be seen. Some indication of its size is shown by the fact that of the 60,000 employees of the Department of Agriculture and its subsidiaries, Davis will control two-thirds. In the old days, he quarreled with other men in the Department of Agriculture because he was more conservative than they, especially in regard to farm credit. In the present

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emergency no such question should arise and Davis has an opportunity to be of the greatest value to his country in a time of national peril.

Enterprising Ship Owners

The profits made by privately owned American merchant vessels chartered by the British for trips to the Red Sea in the spring and summer of 1941 and paid for by this government out of lend-lease funds, as revealed in the current investigation by a House Merchant Marine Subcommittee, take the cake for greed in the annals of the Second World War to date. But for the fact that the figures are undisputed you would say they were fictional instances from the literature of some little group of anarchists. One ship, belonging to the Shepard Steamship Company, for example, valued at $167,465, made two voyages: charter hire $621,512; profit $498,554. In all, eighty-one vessels made ninety trips, in this period when the lives of the British and of all civilized people on earth were hanging by a thread—and collected a total of $31,365,886 in charter hire, of which $26,874,176 represented profits. In numerous cases a single trip paid off the book value of the ship many times over.

Aside from saying that the book value of the ships (most of which are old and most of which are owned by government-subsidized lines) do not represent the true value of the vessels, the owners offer no defense save the infuriatingly smug comment that "it was a bargain freely entered into." That gentry pursuing such a conception of freedom will be permitted to retain the scandalous sums which it channeled into their pockets seems fortunately unlikely. And the investigation will bring needed reassurance in another direction if it levels a spotlight on the Maritime Commission which approved the terms of the hold-up.

Ssssh: Adults Thinking

The New York City Board of Education has thought up a really new idea: that any man, no matter how honorable and efficient, is disqualified from holding a public office if his excellent record has been compiled in the service of a labor union. That is the frank ground on which the board, by a vote of four to two, rejected the nomination of Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, for the position of adult-education director for New York City.

Mr. Starr was the only person, from a field of 100 candidates, who survived a series of rigorous examinations for the position. His nomination was approved by the Board of Superintendents and certified by the Board of Examiners. "It seems just as honorable to work for this union as to work for a bank or a chain of grocery stores," remarks The New York Times drily. Adult ideas are needed in the world today and we must not discourage President Buck of the Board of Education, the man who propounded this novel test of fitness for a public servant, from trying the wings of his mind. But now that Mr. Starr is rejected, who is going to educate the educators?

Senator Austin and Mr. Allred

It is distressing to see as able and responsible a conservative as Senator Austin of Vermont casting a purely machine vote in a matter affecting a federal judgeship, as he did when he joined with all other Republicans of the Senate Judiciary Committee in blocking the nomination of James V. Allred of Texas to the Circuit Court of Appeals. Mr. Allred, a former and highly qualified federal judge, resigned to oppose W. Lee O'Daniel in the senatorial election in Texas last fall. This recent nomination to a judgeship of course brought howls of anguish from Senator O'Daniel, carrying charges of a "deal," charges that are flatly denied by Mr. Allred and Attorney General Biddle. Democratic Senators Wheeler and McCarran, happy to use a judgeship (or anything else) to take a whack at the President, went along with the O'Daniel supporters in the nine-to-nine vote. What Senator Austin actually thinks of W. Lee O'Daniel and how much credence he places in his accusations would probably make a most quotable sentence of the Vermont variety. He would add to the stature which his independence of mind on various occasions in the past has earned for him in the eyes of both liberals and conservatives if he would reconsider his vote.

Children at Work

Educators and child-labor authorities all over the country are alarmed at the rapid increase in the number of fourteen and fifteen-year-olds who have entered the labor market in the past year. The best estimates indicate that in January, 1943, about 500,000 children of fourteen or fifteen were working. Incomplete reports for the last six months of 1942 show that more than three times as many children of fourteen and fifteen left school for work in those months as in the same period of 1940, and also that more than three times as many took part-time or vacation jobs. At the same time large numbers of boys eighteen or over were being rejected by Selective Service because of inadequate educational background. The figures on working children cover only those who received work certificates and have nothing to do with the vast number who are not required to get certificates or just don't bother.

Out of the High Schools

The United States Children's Bureau is getting more and more information about high-school boys and girls who are holding down full-time eight-hour jobs after school and about schools which are giving regular credit for almost any kind of outside work regardless of its real experience value. The Manpower Commission, the

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Children's Bureau and other federal agencies concerned with this question are willing to face the fact that in certain labor-shortage areas it may be necessary to use many high-school students for war work in the months to come, but they are busy now cautioning communities, for the sake of our country's educational future, to make certain that children are really essential before they are sent into local labor markets; that the schools assume some obligation for supervising part-time employment; that basic labor standards are maintained when children are employed. If these cautions are to be observed, local school systems will have to work much more closely with the local Employment Services than ever before.

Robbing the Consumer

The price-control fight has now boiled down to fundamentals and real inflation hangs in the balance. The big question now is whether Price Administrator Prentiss Brown is going to stand by his guns in insisting that real price control depends as much on maintaining quality as it does on dollars and cents ceilings. It won't be an easy decision, although past OPA policy and his own declarations since taking office commit him squarely to favoring quality control, standards for manufacturers and grade labels for consumers. The American Canners' Association, the International Association of Garment Manufacturers and other little brothers of the NAM have unleashed their lobbying forces with an eye to making Brown change his policy.

Almost everybody who has kept an eye on his own pocketbook since the general maximum-price order went into effect knows, as A. G. Mezerik showed in The New Republic of February 22, that the "price" of a piece of goods now is not told merely by the price-tag. We have learned the hard way that the real price of a pair of shoes, for instance, depends as much on the wearing quality of the shoes as it does on what the price-tag says. And what is true for shoes goes for everything else. There are at least three easy ways unscrupulous manufacturers have been soaking the consumer lately:

1. By raising the price on the price-tag.
2. By keeping the price-tag the same, but cutting down on quantity.
3. By keeping the price-tag the same, but cutting down on quality.

All three are being used to hike prices today; so if price control is to work, it will have to hold the reins on all three.

What the Advertiser Doesn't Tell

The big-time national advertisers are not willing to go along with any price-control program that makes them reveal the quality of the goods they are merchandising. In too many cases for their comfort, their nationally advertised product falls below the unadvertised, or little advertised, product of a small manufacturer, in actual quality. So they don't like grade labels which put these facts into cold type for the buyer to read and beware. The most immediate irritants disturbing these gentlemen are two OPA orders, on rayon hosiery and canned fruits and vegetables, which contain carefully drawn standards for production and grade labeling. A good look at these two orders was enough to make the big-timers in these two businesses decide to stage a last-ditch fight right there. We hope Prentiss Brown doesn't scare easily, and we don't think he does. He was in Congress long enough to know that the present demonstration against grade labeling is cooked up by special interests in a hurry. The real attitude of the country will come a little later. And it will be different.

Africa: Hitler's Last Chance

ROMMEL'S AFRIKA KORPS is a doomed army fighting a skillful delaying action. The material superiority of the Anglo-American troops in North Africa must prove overwhelming in the long run. The most reliable military observers have estimated the size of the German army at from eighty to a hundred thousand men. They face an army of half a million British and American troops, according to Prime Minister Churchill's statement—less the forces pinned down opposite Spanish Morocco. As a base, the Germans hold one small and decreasing area of the coast; the Allied troops have the whole continent from which to operate. It does not seem to be within the range of military possibilities for Rommel to do anything more than stave off defeat long enough to upset the Allied time tables.

But in accomplishing this, even though the German army were annihilated, Rommel would have won an important victory. His goal now is to stall the Anglo-American forces until the fall—a Herculean task, but one which must be accomplished if the desperate German position is to be saved from disaster. The Allies, on the other hand, must win their victory within the next eight weeks if they are to prevent a dangerous and perhaps fatal delay in the opening of a front in Southern Europe. Our army at first was not good enough to turn the trick, as the American public began to sense as the campaign stretched out week after week.

The situation now is this: we hold a decided material superiority and the Germans have had a qualitative superiority which was great enough to throw the whole situation into a temporary balance. Thus far, there has been no cause for shame in this fact. Rommel is the star performer among the capable German commanders, and his troops have been trained through long

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months of desert warfare to a peak of efficiency, guile and toughness for this kind of fighting. We are a new army, and even a year of intensive training and maneuvering cannot make a deadly desert soldier out of a youth just out of college or from behind a filling-station pump. Our men and our officers alike have needed a post-graduate course in blood and sand, and this is what they have been getting in the six months since Africa was invaded. Their task now is to wind up the course as quickly as possible and to begin to show results with what they have learned. It seems probable that we shall see this happening within the next few weeks. When it does, we may expect to see the war both in North Africa and in Europe pass from the present balance of forces into a war of movement. There are many reasons to believe that by May 15 we shall see the Germans once more beaten into retreat, and this time it may be the beginning of the final great battle; it can be, if the Anglo-American forces are then in a position to launch feints and full-scale invasions toward Southern Europe and other points like France and Norway.

For the Russians have reserves for another large offensive. They brought their winter drive to a halt in mid-February when it began to run into stiff German counter-attacks undertaken by fresh troops stripped from Western Europe. An assault against such resistance is costly and the Russians stopped their drive in order to save their strategic reserves for a better day. Although Kharkov was lost, they have been able to stop the German counter-attack with relative success. Now the Germans are facing tougher going, and they lack reserves. If they fail to retake Kursk, they will have to retreat again, and if such a failure manifests itself, the fall of Kharkov may be expected to follow once more. The Russians will then be in a position to launch the decisive offensive of the war. It is entirely possible that out of it can come *the total defeat of Germany in 1943*—if the Americans and British are in a position by this time to attack from the other side.

The huge size of Rommel's task is clear. With 100,000 troops, he must smash us off balance until it is too late to launch an attack on Europe this year. His army itself is doomed, but not necessarily victory, though the odds are long against him. He is fighting an action now comparable to the Shenandoah Valley campaign of Stonewall Jackson in 1862, when Jackson, with forces never totaling more than 17,000, marched up into the valley, met and defeated successive Northern armies before they had a chance to converge, and ruined McClelland's campaign against Richmond. Through imaginative generalship, risk-taking, desperate marching and fighting, Jackson's campaign neutralized the efforts of a Northern army ten times the size of his detachment until the coming of winter forced McClelland's withdrawal.

We have cautioned readers in the past against over-optimism about the war, but evidence begins to accumulate that Germany is in a desperate situation. Responsible military observers, studying military and civilian journals which come out of Germany by way of neutral countries, detect an unmistakable note of despair in the articles and statements of high-ranking generals. This is not Goebbels' stuff blared out on the short-waves, but technical discussions written for small groups within Germany. The Nazis have done a long and scientific job on German morale, and the home front will probably hold out until the end—or at least just before the end. But the German crisis is military, and so will be the defeat. The sound morale of the people at home cannot redeem an army captured before Stalingrad, nor meet an invasion of Western Europe. We must realize, and no doubt our general staffs do realize, that we will never win the war by trying to create bread riots in Munich, but that we can win it by relentless fighting.

Prescription for Willow Run

THE TRUMAN COMMITTEE of the Senate received a few days ago a prescription for a sick giant: Ford's mammoth bomber plant at Willow Run. The doctor in the case is the United Auto Workers (CIO) and the prescription is contained in the first of two briefs to be filed with the committee by George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer of the country's biggest union (845,000 dues-paying members by the latest count) and director of its War Policy Division.

The first brief deals with the question of housing; the second will cover the other big bottleneck, production-engineering troubles.

A diagnosis of the difficulties at Willow Run reveals:

1. An absentee rate of seven percent, considerably higher than the figures for other war plants.

2. An abnormally high "quit rate." In January, for example, 2,060 Willow Run workers left their jobs. Nine hundred and fifty-seven said they quit for personal reasons, and more than half of these cited the futility of trying to find a place to live.

3. The same turnover survey showed that most of the others were draftees, which indicates that Ford persists in hiring young men instead of older workers, and that there is a continuing need for hiring more and more women.

4. Deliberate sabotage of public-housing plans that were proposed many months ago. On this point the UAW's well documented brief places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Ford and Detroit real-estate interests, who carried out a careful campaign to torpedo proposals for 20,000 family units in the vicinity of the plant.

5. The fantastic fact that Ford expects to put 58,000 more people to work at Willow Run in an area which is prepared to accommodate but 15,000.

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6. Failure of the Ford management to take steps to relieve the situation in the obvious way: by subcontracting enough of its work to cut down Willow Run's appetite for workers to a figure which can be reasonably housed in the vicinity of the plant.

Absenteeism and the high "quit rate" are directly related to the almost unbelievable housing situation in the Bomber City area, the UAW statement clearly shows. Documentary evidence is submitted of men living six to a trailer, of others occupying a single "hot" bed in three shifts, of hundreds of workers who take time off from production jobs in futile searching for a place to live, of as many as 70 percent of Willow Run's workers driving thirty miles and more to get to work every day.

At present there are dormitory accommodations for a tiny fraction of the workers needed, and instead of making these beds available to older men who might be quartered there, the Ford scouts are scouring the South and bringing women in from Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky and other points—when there are women in Ypsilanti who would work at Willow Run. But Ford won't hire them because they are Negroes.

The UAW's prescription for solving Willow Run's housing problem includes five major points:

1. A form of rationing of all housing within easy transportation distance of the plant. All houses held for sale to be rented at once; all vacancies to be made available only to Willow Run workers. It is understood that the OPA's Rent Division has a housing-rationing plan ready for operation whenever and wherever it is needed.

2. Decentralization of Willow Run production. In four plants alone—Plymouth and Dodge in Detroit, Fisher at Pontiac and Chevrolet in Flint—UAW research workers estimate there is capacity enough to absorb from 25,000 to 30,000 of Willow Run's jobs. Furthermore, these plants are located in the midst of a large supply of unemployed women who would not need new housing. And, if it were necessary to bring new workers into the area, such as single women from the South, they could be housed in private homes in these cities.

(Although a February survey shows that by July 1 Detroit will have a deficit of 12,000 family dwelling units, there is actually a surplus of available rooms for single workers in private homes.)

Decentralization would have a double advantage: taking the work to the workers, and making use of idle capacity whose idleness is a serious brake on the war program as well as a serious source of doubt in workers' minds about the reality of the need for full production.

3. Shuttle service to Willow Run from Detroit on the New York Central Railroad. This proposal was endorsed by the Truman Committee on its latest Detroit visit, and offers real hope for cutting down the excessive transportation time required by Willow Run workers living in Detroit.

4. Revision of Ford hiring practices to permit the hiring of more men beyond the draft age, of more women and of Negro workers. The immigration of workers from other areas certainly ought to be halted until it is clear that a rational approach to Willow Run's manpower problem, including real efforts to use all available Detroit-area workers, has been worked out.

5. Finally, the UAW proposes that the federal government step into the picture and establish a single authority with labor representation to cope with the enormous variety of manpower, housing, transportation, health, production and other obstacles which are playing havoc with the nation's hopes for the promised cloud of bombers from the Ford plant.

What is needed is a miniature Office of War Mobilization for Willow Run, such as the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill proposes for the nation at large. Only by such a centralization of authority, in an office in which labor is permitted to play its full part, can Willow Run's complex problems be solved.

On February 19, Edsel Ford had breakfast in Detroit with some of the Truman Committee members. Over his coffee and doughnuts the younger Ford declared: "We feel that your committee can exert influence on the War Manpower Commission to improve the labor situation at Willow Run." It was the first time the Ford Motor Company had admitted that their giant was ailing.

Ever since Steve Hannigan sent out the first pictures of the cornfield which was soon to sprout "a bomber every hour," the UAW has been urging that steps be taken to lick the problems which multiplied with every passing day. Perhaps the Truman Committee and Congress will take heed of the sober, careful proposals of the men who work in the auto shops, and know what they are talking about.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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American-Soviet Friendship

An Invitation to Agreement

MEN ARE BOUND TOGETHER by wider and by narrower bonds. The spheres of human agreement, in other words, are of different diameters. The widest bond among men is that which unites them, as men, into that partnership which we call humanity. Between this widest bond and the narrower and more intimate bonds which unite man and wife, or two friends, there are countless intermediate circles of region, race, creed, nationality, party and class. From time to time these bonds come into the forefront of consciousness and retire into the background, according to the business in hand and pressures felt from without.

Normally and throughout the greater part of life the narrower bonds preoccupy our minds. At such times the wider bonds can be taken for granted: they are built into habits, and operate as unformulated premises. We can afford to expend our energies on the disagreements over narrower differences because they are enclosed within the area of agreement. But then from time to time there arise emergencies when these wider agreements themselves are assailed and when the values which they secure are in jeopardy. Then we must shift our conscious loyalty and our fighting zeal from the narrower to the broader front.

The most familiar example of a wide bond which is periodically forgotten and remembered is that of the nation. We carry on our lives within the broad framework of a political constitution and an inheritance of ideas, customs, sentiments, aspirations which constitute democracy, in the American sense of that term. So long as this framework remains solid we can and do enjoy our rivalries, of vocation, of opinion and of taste. We wage our fierce political and intellectual battles. We see the truth differently, and seek to make our personal or party version of the truth prevail. These rivalries and differences are contained within our community, and may safely divide us so long as we are still united on those fundamentals that make us one country. And then in moments of solemnity or extremity we become aware of these fundamentals, rededicate ourselves to them and defend them against their enemies.

In the present war our national existence and our national creed are both at stake. But through the principles of our national creed we are united with a wider circle which embraces most of the nations of the earth, past and present. At the same time that we are reminded of our national solidarity and our national peril we have become aware of this wider solidarity and the supernational cause with which it is identified. To that cause many names are given, designed to endear it to the hearts of people who approach it from some particular angle. As Americans we may prefer to call it *democracy* since we see it as the foundation of our own peculiar institutions. People who have suffered subjection at the hands of others, or who have been impregnated with the liberal tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, call it *freedom*. From the standpoint of those who have suffered privation it wears the aspect of social progress, and to those who have been exploited and despised by their fellow men its name is *equality*. Those who are seeking to rise above the level of animal instincts and appetites speak of *morality* and *religion;* and if their piety is of Western and Mediterranean origin they call it *Christian*. To men of tender affection it is known as *humanitarianism*, to devotees of the cultural arts it is known as *civilization, humanism* or *enlightenment*.

I do not mean to suggest that these different names are names of the same thing, but only that they have a common core; and that the names of these particular ideas, different as they are, and significant as these differences are to their adherents, may be used for that common core. Diverse ideas look in a common direction, and the point of their convergence may be differently named according to their point of outlook. They also have a common enemy, and in the face of that common enemy their adherents recognize themselves as friends and allies.

Seeking a name for the common core, the common direction and the common cause—a name that shall be as free as possible from association with the narrower and conflicting loyalties, I suggest that of *human dignity*. In Izak Dinesen's "Out of Africa" it is said that "pride is the faith in the idea that God had when he made us." So far as the facts are concerned, man is admirable or contemptible; an object of hope or of despair. Human pride is optional. It rests with man himself whether he shall be proud or self-abasing—whether he shall grovel or stand erect. His choice of pride is the first and main condition of his justifying that pride. If he chooses pride he and his works will be worthy of pride. That is why the writer has used the word "faith." The pride here defined is also humble because it is faith in an idea: man's pride in himself not for what he is, but for what he is designed to be, and can in some measure become. It is also *our* faith in *us*, a faith of all men in all men, themselves and others.

This, then, is what I mean by the idea and the cause of human dignity that men—all men—having a glimpse of what man at his best can be, shall esteem

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themselves accordingly and endeavor to live up to that high possibility by personal effort and by the organization of their collective affairs. It implies a universal opportunity for the fullest development of human faculties and for their exercise. It implies the banishment of poverty, disease and ignorance, so far as these things can be brought within human control, through the advance of the technical and industrial arts. It implies that these evils shall be first attacked where they are most extreme, at the expense, if need be, of those who are more fortunate. It means the removal of every form of humiliating dependence and subjection—political, economic or social—that begets resentment among the bold and abjectness among the timid. It implies the vicarious enjoyment by all men of a common fund of art and science created by men of genius, who are allowed and helped to follow their vocation. It means that all men shall have access to whatever faith or worship reminds them of their high destiny and gives them the courage to accept it. It implies that human affairs shall be so organized under law and authority as to protect each individual's rights, that is, his opportunity to be a man, subject only to the conditions that he shall not violate the manhood of his fellows.

This is the common ground on which democrats, libertarians, progressives, humanists, pietists and Christians take their stand. Or, at least, it is the common ground that underlies the several grounds on which they take their several stands. Because this underlying ground is now shaken, it is a time to become conscious of it, and make it secure. For it is not a ground that is common to all men as they are now minded. As now minded, men are divisible into two great parties. On the one hand there is the party of faith which I have described. On the other hand, there is the party of despair and abasement—of cruelty, tyranny, enslavement, exploitation, impiety, lawlessness, barbarism and obscurantism. There are, no doubt, many individuals who are on the wrong side, wearing the wrong uniform, marching under the wrong colors. No alignment is perfect. When Satan led his famous revolt there were no doubt fallen angels who were dragged down by their fellows, and angels who remained at the throne of God when they belonged in the other camp. Men do not all live up to, or down to, their professions. But the difference between the two causes themselves is unmistakable, and the mass of their adherents are faithful in intent if not in performance.

This is, I believe, the first time in human history when great nations have deliberately disavowed the creed of human dignity. These nations are not, it is true, without their own kind of pride. But it is the kind of pride that is better called arrogance because it is of its essence that it should offend and humiliate the pride of others. Men may express their contempt for man even more effectively through debasing others than through abasing themselves; if, indeed, the debasing of others is not in itself a form of self-abasement.

It is time that I referred to Soviet Russia. The fact is that I have been talking about Soviet Russia all the time. I have drawn a line among men and nations that clearly places Soviet Russia on our side, not merely for military reasons, but for moral reasons; not only for the temporary effort of the war, but for the long pull of the peace. If you are attacked or threatened by a bandit and another man draws the attack upon himself and fights back and gets the better of the bandit, it takes no great understanding to call your rescuer blessed and supply him with fresh arms. You may never have seen him or heard of him before, or you may even have previously had a poor opinion of him: it now takes no great magnanimity to admire his heroic qualities, to overlook his past, to applaud his successes and to call him friend. But what is going to happen if and when the bandit is destroyed? Then it may appear that your friend is only your foul-weather friend, your fellow in adversity, your friend for worse but not for better. Are you then going to part as from a stranger, or revive your old suspicions, or promote him to the first place in your hostility left vacant by your late enemy? And how is he going to feel when he turns from his present enemy and faces you? One thing is certain—that each of the two, you and your partner in the struggle, will quickly catch up and reflect the feeling of the other.

Common enmity toward a third party is a transitory ground for friendship, a state of affairs which both friends are in the nature of the case determined to make as brief as possible. What will be the relation of the Soviet Union and the United States when they are no longer bound together by the external fact that the Axis powers have elected to attack them simultaneously? On the answer to that question depends the long future not only of these two great nations, but of mankind. In all probability the Soviet Union and the United States will, during the period immediately following the war, be the two most powerful nations on earth. What they make of human history will depend on what they make of one another.

Like all so-called "post-war" problems this is a war problem. Suppose that we cherish in our hearts a sort of post-dated hostility to the Soviet Union, intending to face about and take an attitude of hostility toward that nation at the moment when the power of the Axis is destroyed. How does that state of mind affect our present attitude? It will betray itself, and so far as it exists, it does betray itself, now; and so confirms the like state of mind on the part of our ally. It is foolish to suppose that it can be concealed and not diminish the wholeheartedness of the present partnership. And as the common victory draws near it will manifest itself more and more clearly.

At the present moment conditions are as favorable

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as possible to a merely military and transitory friendship. We need the aid of the Soviet armies most desperately, and these armies are rendering that aid most magnificently. But even so there are those among us who fear that our friend may be too powerful when our need for that friendship has passed. Or if, as seems highly improbable, the Soviet Union should weaken and be no longer able to satisfy our need—what then? Are we hoping that Soviet strength shall be nicely proportioned to our need of her aid so that through her aid we shall be left the stronger of the two? If so, that hope will be sensed in the Soviet Union: it will be made more and more clearly manifest on the home stretch when war merges into post-war. And it will be reciprocated. For everything which I have said of our attitude to our present ally can be said point for point of the attitude of that ally toward ourselves. The existence of that attitude has already weakened our alliance and may weaken it increasingly as the days and months pass. Our Axis enemies know this weakness, and are making the most of it in increasing tempo as their reverses multiply. To exploit that weakness is their last weapon and it is quite possible that by its use they may yet snatch victory from defeat. And that is why for our own sake, and for their sake, and for the sake of all mankind, every possible effort should be made now—now when superficial and external circumstances are most propitious, now, before it is too late—to deepen our friendship with Soviet Russia from a military into a moral friendship, and to extend it from today into tomorrow.

To deepen and extend this friendship we have to look to that common ground of which I have spoken. I dismiss as vain and illusory the idea that the Soviet Union is or can be converted into a Christian capitalistic nation-state of the type that our extremist partisans might like. I dismiss as equally vain and illusory the idea that the United States is or can be converted into a Marxian, materialistic, socialist economy of the type that the extremist Soviet partisans might like. As an American I dismiss the second alternative as not only vain and illusory, but as undesirable; and if I were a Russian I would no doubt feel the same about the first alternative. The passion and cohesiveness which have sustained the Soviet Union in this hour of trial sprang from the Revolution of 1917, as ours sprang from that of 1776. We shall not be more true to one another by being false to ourselves. Our deeper and more permanent friendship will depend on our finding something in common between these two revolutions, or in finding that despite all their differences and oppositions they may in some more basic sense be considered as parts of one revolution; or as critical stages in one evolution.

I would not underestimate the difficulty of creating this understanding. But I believe that it is possible to find this common ground for the very simple reason that it is there. To find it we do not need to falsify the facts, but only to search more deeply into our own hearts and more generously into the hearts of our friends. In order that the difficulty may be fairly faced I would look not into the minds of moderate and easy-going people of both groups, people to whom compromise is easy because conviction is shallow—people of the one-thing-is-as-good-as-another and nothing-is-worth-much variety. I would take Catholic Christendom on the one hand and Marxian communism on the other—the most ardent devotees of both—and ask them to look beyond their peculiar dogmas to that which they hold in common against a common enemy.

I select these two arch-protagonists because of their present opposition, because if they can be reconciled the rest is comparatively easy, and because it may well turn out that they will, in many areas of the earth's surface, be the most powerful cults of the post-war world. Let it be clearly understood that in seeking to reconcile them I do not ask them to abandon or to belittle their own peculiarities. It may well be that their differences are concerned with higher things than their agreements. They cannot be denied the right to believe this, or the opportunity of justifying it by the tests of experience and reason. But all human routes to heaven or utopia traverse the earth's surface, and travelers on these routes, whatever their ultimate destination, must enter into relations of some kind both with their terrestrial environment and with their fellow human beings. Whatever beyond men live *for* they must live together here and now. The agreement which I seek concerns this terrestrial corridor.

Metaphors aside, there is, I believe, a common social philosophy shared by Communists and Catholics. It is a social philosophy which concerns the organization of human beings on earth, and the principles on which their earthly institutions shall be founded. It is these principles which govern the present issues of war and peace. At the risk of superficiality I shall summarize these two cults in such wise as to distinguish their peculiar doctrines from their common social core.

Catholicism embraces the doctrines of Christian orthodoxy—original sin, salvation through the atoning sacrifice of Christ, the trinitarian theology, the creation of nature and man by God, immortality, the sacraments, revelation, the authority of the Church over the things of the spirit, the supreme commandment of love. But all of these doctrines exalt man. Even original sin is a fall, and does not represent man's fundamental place in the cosmos. Man is the consummate product of divine creativity—created in the very image of the Creator—and the whole of human history, conceived in Christian terms, is devoted to his recovery and restoration. Mankind is an aggregate of souls, loved by God with the personal fondness of a parent, and bound to his fellow men by a tie of brotherhood.

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Marxism has its own orthodoxy. I refer here to its general social doctrines, rather than to its technical analysis of the relations of value, capital, labor and exchange. The latter finds its place in any treatise on economic theory, and its truth or falsity, like the doctrines of Adam Smith or Ricardo, will be adjudicated by advancing science. But as a social philosopher Marx was schooled in the doctrines of Hegel. He was further molded by the immense prestige of natural science in the middle of the nineteenth century. These influences determined the language in which he thought and in which his thought was recorded and uttered. Owing to these influences Marx, together with his friend and associate, Friedrich Engels, formulated that inverted Hegelianism which embraced dialectical materialism, the economic essence of human institutions, and the class struggle, with its predetermined outcome in the proletarian revolution. This body of doctrines, like those of Catholic orthodoxy, have become dogmas, proclaimed by authority and accepted by faith and discipline.

I do not reject these dogmas any more than I reject those of Catholic orthodoxy. For all that I have here to say to the contrary, they may be the highest truths. But I suggest that we look for their underlying social motive. Marx and Engels were concerned with the unquestionable inhumanities that sprang from the Industrial Revolution. They shared that concern with the French and English socialists of their day—Fourier, Proudhon, St. Simon and Owen. They attacked these socialists as the radical exponents of any cult attack its moderates, accusing them of temporizing and compromise. They advocated the knife instead of healing medicine. In "The Communist Manifesto" the earlier socialists were described as "both reactionary and utopian." They belonged, said Marx and Engels, to the undeveloped phase of the class struggle, and were the victims of their own bourgeois mentality:

> Hence [the Manifesto continues] they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavor by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

But Marx and Engels did not reject the new social Gospel itself. Their goal was the same as that of their forerunners and they condemned the evils of their time by the same standards. They wished to relieve the poverty, the frustration and the helplessness of the masses of workers, whom they called the proletariat. They hoped by destroying the bourgeois class to create a classless society, that is, a society dominated by no private interest short of the aggregate of all private interests. They hoped so to reorganize human institutions that they would minister to human needs justly and generously. They hoped to exalt labor so that a man could work with his hands and at the same time enjoy self-respect and honor. They hoped to free men from the necessity of selling themselves cheaply, and sought to add the motives of group participation, public honor and creativity to those of rivalry and acquisitiveness. And I believe that it is because the communism of Soviet Russia has succeeded in some measure in doing these things, or in bringing them within the range of near expectancy, that millions of men are now willing to die under its banner. The cost has been fearful, achievement lags behind promise, and tragic blunders, I doubt not, have been committed; but hope is confident and bright, and has been confirmed by the experience of many sons of peasants and workers who have already found the way open to a new life.

I have argued for a common understanding between Catholic Christendom and Soviet communism because I feel that if they can be reconciled the intermediate people of both nations will present no difficulty. If Catholic Christians, democratic capitalists, rugged individualists, reforming collectivists and Russan communists are to fight and work together under the banner of human dignity they must adjust their disagreements to their agreement. It makes a great deal of difference how this adjustment is conceived. You cannot ask men to abandon their gospels of salvation. You cannot ask Christians to abandon their belief that man's higher destiny is realized in another world; or demand that communists shall reject the belief that man is a product of nature. You cannot ask socialists to become adherents of laissez-faire, or free-enterprisers to repent their sins and recite the creed of the New Deal. Nor, taking the view that such differences are unimportant, can you invite everybody to unite on some single eclectic or washed-out creed that covers everything. You have to persuade these and other different cults that they have at least one limited and specific purpose in common, which concerns the just and beneficent organization of human relations on the surface of the earth. They may then differ as to the means by which that purpose shall be realized; and these differences of means will become forms of fruitful experimentation or mutual enlightenment. They may differ as to ulterior ends. Some may see this present social order as an end in itself; others will see it as an intermediate end, finding its higher justification in a spiritual salvation beyond the grave, or in the moral and cultural achievement of individuals, or in some later chapter of human progress. Such differences, however profound, need not divide, provided all parties accept their life together here on earth as a part of the eternal pilgrimage, and are resolved to make that life together, while it lasts, and whatever its deeper meaning or implications, as beneficent as possible for all concerned. They can then meet as friends; remain friends while devoted to their several separate concerns; and as friends make common cause together against their common enemy—against, namely, the party of cynicism, injustice and inhumanity.

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Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, *United* States of America, *United* Nations! How united? United does not mean merged, or subordinated one to another. It means collaboration on some common task: doing together some one thing which all parties desire to have done, and which they can do more effectually together than apart. United on what? The common task is only one of the tasks which the several parties have set themselves. Many things, perhaps most things, are better done apart. But the tasks of international order and coöperation are clearly among the common tasks, which cannot be done effectually, or even done at all, without the united endeavor of the United Nations, and in particular of the Soviet Union and the United States.

The hope of their collaboration lies in the fact that both countries are accustomed to that form of union in which partners pool their resources and combine their efforts without losing their identity. And it lies, more profoundly, in the fact that both countries are at heart the friends of mankind. To both the idea of the exploitation of man by man, whether it be by sadistic brutality, by political tyranny, by social snobbery, by economic greed, or by military brigandage, is profoundly repugnant. To both countries it is intolerable that some men should be the playthings, the slaves, the victims, the servants, the tools or the broken domesticated animals of other men. To the people of both countries, whether they be Catholics or Marxists, or anything intermediate between the two, it is the purpose of all human institutions, social, political and economic, to enable all men—all men without exception, however otherwise they may differ one from another—to live each in his different way enjoying self-respect and the honor of his fellows, the fullest possible human life.

RALPH BARTON PERRY

Why Workers Stay Home

EVER HEAR of the Monday-morning hangover? Listen to this, "Much has been said, often, regarding liquor and hangovers as a cause of absenteeism. It is a problem and bears on the subject, of course. But it should also be recognized that drinking is most often a *secondary* cause—there is friction in the plant, domestic trouble, ill health or fatigue, which are many times remedial and which lead to overindulgence. The few boozers habitually absent can be eliminated by discharge." This conclusion is quoted from a survey on absenteeism made by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association and covering, among others, aviation plants and shipyards in Los Angeles County. Yet "Monday-morning hangover" talk still dominates the newspaper and radio discussion about absenteeism.

Modern Industry, a management magazine, recently listed twenty reasons for absenteeism. I have tabulated more than thirty. William Green, on the March of Time program, spoke of one hundred causes. But labor-baiters leap to the Rickenbacker propaganda about shirking and laziness. Pro-labor people counter with evidence of lack of housing, transportation and health services. Yet nobody really knows how important each of the factors is since there are no valid statistics by which to measure absenteeism.

It is certain, though, that those who, like Rickenbacker, are shouting loudest in combating absenteeism are seeking primarily to attack organized labor. Labor and friends of labor who simply ignore the fact that willful absenteeism does exist, are also reacting on the basis of their sympathies. If the facts about absenteeism were collected scientifically and the same yardstick used to measure absenteeism in all plants, discussions about it, and efforts to solve it, could proceed on a more dispassionate level. Unfortunately that seems a long time away, for even the Department of Labor can be specific about only a few plants in small areas.

It must be recognized that there is considerable absenteeism. Some of it is unnecessary. More is unavoidable. Some of it is merely statistical and actually doesn't exist: either by the intention of the employer or through his neglect, it is the product of his bookkeeping. Workers, wherever possible, try to do seven days at a stretch so as to get the double time for the seventh day. Seven consecutive days of work tire nearly every human being, and workers stay home the eighth day. If this is not a rest day, scheduled by the plant, the worker is marked absent.

An engineer, on a company assignment, lectured to a group of safety men in New York recently. He said that his company, a large shipyard, had marked him as an absentee for that day. Their accounting system checks every worker not on the premises as absent, even though the employee is on company business. Workers change jobs and don't lose more than a day in the process. But most plants carry these names on their time sheets for as much as two weeks—as absentees. This helps to swell the absentee figures. Men working in a shipyard near New York and commuting from home pay 50 cents each way for transportation. They cannot work in hard rain or falling snow. If they look out of their bedroom windows at five in the morning and see for themselves that they cannot work, they become absentees if they go sensibly back to bed. They must spend a dollar of their own money, two hours on overcrowded trains and waste the morning to check in in order to avoid a bad record—for they do not get

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paid unless they work. Men and women catch colds or occupational diseases and they have accidents on the job. Their resulting absences are recorded as absenteeism. None of this bookkeeping meant anything before absentee and slacker were made almost synonymous. Now it is essential, as a matter of maintaining unity on the civilian front, to separate the wheat from the chaff of loose talk.

In the loose-talk department, file most of the remarks about Monday-morning hangovers. Not long ago an Eastern aviation company announced a whole series of constructive activities to counteract preventable absences from work by women. Included was a change from working a half-day on Saturday to working all day on alternate weeks to permit the woman worker access to shopping facilities and to give her time to obtain personal services. Free telephone service to the plant, recreation rooms, cafeterias and nurseries for the children of working mothers were also listed. The release said that in this particular plant absenteeism had always been low, four percent overall, five percent for women. Government agencies might supply such community health and welfare services at less cost for more people, and they would be good investments, since the taxpayers are paying the costs of armaments anyway.

The Los Angeles survey places drunkenness among workers in its proper perspective. People who always shifted jobs frequently and who never developed work disciplines are war workers now, but they are a small group compared with the total. It would be important to find out exactly how extensive this group is; the fact that it is a small minority must be brought out not only for the sake of the workers, but also, it seems to me, to combat the gathering forces of prohibition. The Rickenbacker technique of labeling all workers as week-end drunks is serving the Drys very well. In my own observations I have not seen much of this Monday-hangover business, although I have seen some youngsters, who are now earning more money than they ever dreamed existed, out roistering, and I have seen isolated men and women who never could have gotten a job before, much less kept one, in an alcoholic daze. But Monday absences are the highest of the work week, and there are explanations other than drunkenness for it. A man can't find a house for his family near the plant. The family lives sixty miles away in the home of a sister. He spends his week in a rooming house. Come Saturday night, he hightails it out to his family and Sunday evening he hasn't had nearly enough of being the head of the house once more. He oversleeps and is an absentee. So is the worker who has worked a seven-day week and is simply resting, and so is the man, paid on Friday, who takes his family downtown Monday to buy clothes and supplies.

The more the causes for absenteeism are studied, the more complex the problem becomes. Fatigue, both psychological and physical, poor medical facilities, ill children, failure of the driver of a car pool to pick up his four associates, accidents and sickness and many other things, play parts in the whole. Sickness and injuries loom largest in every realistic survey I have seen, and they have increased sharply. The employment of untrained workers is responsible for many accidents. Others happen because plants and labor alike, working at high speed, do not utilize the numerous safety devices that have been developed.

This country has more deaths from accident than any other country in the world except Chile. Japan has only about one-fifth as many as we; Germany has just over a third. The National Safety Council has pictured our appalling loss in dramatic terms. In the first year of the war six American workers were killed by accident for every soldier killed in action in all the armed services. Add to this the 4,000,000 workers who were injured, 165,000 of them so seriously they will never work again. The man-hours thus lost would have built 20,000 bombers.

Most of this need not have happened had we taken advantage of the tremendous amount of work and research which have gone into the making of our many safety and health standards. Several technical organizations have pioneered this work. One is the American Standards Association, the national organization which develops standards. Their work is the result of voluntary agreement among insurance companies, manufacturers, government, labor and independent specialists. The National Conservation Bureau has done outstanding work which is summarized in simple language in their handbook of Industrial Safety Standards. The installation of these safety and health standards does not represent a great expense. Mostly it is a problem of creating an understanding by supervisors, particularly foremen, of how the standards are to be used. It is the foreman's job to inform the worker under him of the dangers of the job and to instruct the worker how to avoid them. The foreman also must see that guards and safety devices are in place. He must report every injury and make sure that no worker who is sick or has had an accident works again until he is fully recovered. If the foreman hasn't been trained to do these things he will do them the hard way and do them badly.

Experience in the big aviation and armament plants has already proved the value of supervisory training, with the result that the Office of Education instituted safety courses in 137 schools and colleges last year. Fifteen thousand trainees from large plants took these classes. One of the recommended texts in these classes is a special wartime compilation of American safety standards. In this little volume the manager can find suggestions for needed changes to help him eliminate the sources of a good part of absenteeism in his plant. There are specifications which help him to

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overcome nearly all of the hazards which cause tripping and falling. The proper style and size of a ladder to support a worker is defined. Guards for abrasive wheels and the moving parts of machines are specified to protect fingers and hands. A standard-model shield has been designed by scientists for the protection of heads and eyes of welders. Similarly, masks have been devised for the protection of lungs in work areas where dusts and gases are prevalent.

Perhaps the readiest source of irritation to workers is bad toilet and washing facilities. The United States Public Health Service, coöperating with other groups, has developed a good yardstick with which to measure industrial sanitation. This is complete even as to specification of the layout and number of wash bowls and toilets required. Accident-prevention signs are an essential in all plants. Sometimes they are illegible or obscure. They need not be. Standard signs which are readable and striking have been developed.

These are the rudimentary group of safety standards. They mark only the beginning of real protection. The use of modern standard lighting in the plant and on machines will eliminate glare while amply illuminating the surface where work is done. Paint is used not only to cover surfaces but to mark off dangerous moving parts. Flat cutting surfaces are made to look three-dimensional with scientifically developed colors. Disconcerting movements in the worker's line of vision behind machines and in the aisles are screened off.

Deaths from carbon-monoxide gases have risen sharply both here and in England. The Air Hygiene Institute and other organizations have made exhaustive studies of the permissible concentration of this and other gases and dusts. Respiratory devices are available to control the worker's intake of these gases, and blowers and exhaust system can be installed to carry away dangerous dusts and gases. "Change houses" are very much in the news now—they are rooms kept at normal temperatures where those who work in very high temperatures come to change their clothes and cool off slowly before leaving the plant. This simple innovation prevents many a cold and a resulting absence.

From gloves to shoes, special apparel has been designed as protective clothing for specific jobs. So important is this that the OPA has just recently requested the American Standards Association to standardize women's industrial work and safety clothing. These standards will specify the details of construction and decide the proper types for each function which the worker performs. The OPA intends, when these standards are completed, to gear specific qualities to price orders and in this way to assure the wearer of adequate performance at a low price. Accidents will be prevented and work days saved if women are compelled to use this type of clothing. Shoes with steel box toes ward off many a smashed or broken toe, and a secure hair-do protects hair as well as heads.

Just how important a factor in absenteeism the aggregate of all these accidents and injuries are was indicated in a front-page story in The New York Times of March 20. Discussing a CIO proposal to increase the work week in steel to forty-eight hours, The Times says, "According to government data, the average work week in the steel industry during December was only forty-one and one-half hours. Allowing for injuries and other similar occurrences, it was said today, a forty-eight-hour industrywide work week would work out on the average at forty-six and one-half hours." It seems to me that there can be little room for condemning workers for absenteeism when our major industry calmly states that its 521,000 workers may each expect to lose one and one-half hours a week, nearly 100,000 days a week, from accidents, a large percentage of which are preventable. Captain Rickenbacker might ponder these things. They throw a different light on the high absentee rates he has been quoting.

Labor unions working in labor-management committees have helped in many places to stimulate workers to adopt and use safety standards. They have materially lessened absenteeism by discovering hazards and by urging management to install protective devices. But the truth is that the labor unions generally have concentrated on economic needs and left the safety and health hazards to be discovered and remedied by manufacturers of safety devices, insurance companies seeking to reduce compensation payments, employers and the government. On March 4 the United Automobile Workers opened a diagnostic unit in Detroit to determine occupational diseases through the examination of workers. This marks a welcome beginning but it is far from all that labor can do.

Safety standards are not establishd until there has been a consensus of agreement by all interested parties. Certainly no party should be more interested than labor, yet it has rarely asked for representation on the committees which develop the standards. Where labor does come into committees it is through an intermediary, the United States Department of Labor. No other group, whether employing, insuring, manufacturing or scientific, waits on the pleasure of an intermediary for its invitation. Certainly a mature trade-union movement must take its place and give leadership to the protection of its workers.

Whether or not that happens, this much is clear. Much of the talk about absenteeism is vague and prejudiced. A considerable part of the absenteeism which we know exists is preventable in the plant by the intelligent and quick adoption of the health and safety protections already available. That's a job at which management and labor, in their committees, can work every day—Captain Rickenbacker notwithstanding.

A. G. MEZERIK

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Farley Fights the President

Coca-cola, an elk's tooth and green ink may have a great deal to do with the kind of peace we get after this war. James Aloysius Farley, whose career is entwined about these symbols, is running for President again. And regardless of how his own candidacy may fare, he has it in mind to lick the President or the President's candidate in 1944, no matter what the consequences to the Democratic Party he once served well. Jim Farley is a bad man to have against you. Ask Herbert Hoover, or Alf Landon, or Al Smith, or Franklin Roosevelt. The President found out what it was like in the recent New York State gubernatorial fight. Farley may well become one of the greatest barriers to realization of Roosevelt's and Wallace's plans for a great and enduring peace. If this barrier is to be removed, it will have to be by main force, shrewdly and courageously applied. Appeasing Farley will be fatal.

Most of the "Roosevelt-before-Chicago" politicians are quick to give Jim Farley most of the credit for steering the New Deal into Washington. They remember his pre-convention campaign, the voluminous letter writing ("Sincerely yours, Jim" in green ink), the whirlwind tour of eighteen states in nineteen days, all carefully planned beforehand in the Hyde Park study over a map and a timetable and a list of Democratic state officials. Farley shook hands and remembered names, jotted down addresses and followed up with still more leters on his return from the Elks' convention, which was the ultimate destination of his wanderings. From that trip on, Farley's machine was national instead of New York. And later when the New Deal was riding high, it was generally forgotten that while the people's hearts belonged to Roosevelt, most of the party workers' hearts belonged to Farley.

Writing of Farley in 1938, Duncan Aikman said, perhaps prophetically: "A statesman who chose to destroy Mr. Farley might not long continue to be President. For Big Jim has not been so short-sighted as to devise a self-operating machine for winning political victories. What he has done more expertly than any political machinist in our history is to organize himself as a power house." Time in 1939 was making the same point, with exaggeration: "The difference between James Aloysius Farley and Franklin D. Roosevelt as politicians is precisely the difference between Jack Kearns and Jack Dempsey as prize-ring professionals. Without Manager Kearns to steer him, get him matches, plan his career, World's Champion Dempsey might have been just another pug. When Jim Farley crossed the continent to attend the Elks' convention in Seattle eight years ago, Franklin Roosevelt was just another governor." Our national history of the last decade stands as evidence that this self-styled "political drummer" is a good salesman. Farley says that one of the secrets of his success as a salesman is: "Don't forget what kind of a tree it was that little Johnny fell out of and which arm he broke."

Roosevelt has not had many men with that kind of memory around him recently. Fighting a war is a full-time job for one thing, and properly, for a time at least, domestic politics was neglected. Farley wasn't running a war, so he could, and did, start out months ago to spike the President's guns for '44. When Farley cut loose from "the Boss," he did not leave his bag of tricks behind in Washington. With the same old bag under his arm last year, he set out to revisit America in much the same spirit as he set out in July, 1931. This time he wasn't going to an Elks' convention, and he was out to sell Jim Farley instead of Franklin Roosevelt for the Democratic nomination. The personal accounts of what has happened in the Farley ports of call have begun to drift back to Washington. His style is still the same. In the '32 campaign, Farley later reported, "Usually I sparred around a bit by suggesting that we had three outstanding potential candidates for the presidency in New York State—Alfred E. Smith, Owen D. Young and Franklin D. Roosevelt—and that it was my purpose to discover what the public thought of them as standard bearers"; and then he would help the interviewee to make up his mind on this vital question.

This time round, a Texan reports, Farley's routine goes like this: the Democrats have at least four outstanding potential candidates for the presidency aside from Roosevelt, who, he hastens to add, "would be beaten if by any chance he should be nominated"; he names Henry Wallace, James F. Byrnes, Paul McNutt and Senator Scott Lucas. All of these then are easily brushed aside by the explanation that by '44 the country will be in a mood to demand a leader who has not been associated with the trials and tribulations of life in wartime. "A great many people are talking about Jim Farley," follows naturally.

In Texas, Farley has recently conferred with old John Garner (remember him?) who didn't like the third-term idea either; and with the cohorts of "Pappy" Lee O'Daniel, who is carrying the ball in the South for the groups who are gathering forces to crush any effort to write a people's peace. In Alabama, Farley recently put his head together with former Gov. Frank Dixon, crony of O'Daniel and of Louisiana's anti-Roosevelt Gov. Sam Jones. There is strong evidence to indicate that the Dixon plan to keep Southern delegations home from the next Democratic National Convention was checked with Farley before

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it was floated. Late in November Farley happened into Kansas and wandered from there into Nebraska with Roosevelt-hater Harry Woodring, former Secretary of War, just prior to a semi-revolt of Democratic leaders in that area against the administration's disregard of usual patronage policies during the war. Perhaps there is no connection between the visit and the revolt. Farley has been wandering around California, renewing ties with the Dockweiler crowd and with Catholic politicians upon whom he can depend. They are laying plans for a Farley delegation to the '44 convention. Farley has asked his old friend, Democratic leader John Reagan, to organize a Minnesota Democratic delegation instructed in his behalf. These are only sample instances which have come clear already. They are enough from which to conclude that Jim Farley is ahead of his own 1931 schedule in paying calls and laying down his lines of communication. Whether or not his time-tested tactics pay off depends on the President's remaining friends within the Democratic Party.

A few months ago, when the taste of the November defeat was still bitter and Leon Henderson was still around, sentiment among party leaders was at an all-time Roosevelt low. Appointment of Prentiss Brown to the OPA and a few other such politically shrewd moves have done a great deal to clear up that ugly situation. The new chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Frank Walker, one of the very earliest Roosevelt-for-President men, shows signs of understanding the problem he is facing—something that Ed Flynn never did. He is reshaping his staff shrewdly. The spirit of the committee headquarters is higher than at any other time in the last few years. But that is not saying too much. Walker and his assistants have a heavy job ahead of them, made no easier by the two years of Flynn inaction. At least they know the score. And they know that coping with Farley is no easy matter. They deserve all the aid that labor and liberals can give for the cause of guaranteeing the best possible set of candidates in the crucial balloting of 1944.

Washington HELEN FULLER

Has British Labor a Future?

The following article by Jennie Lee was written before Churchill's speech on March 21. Since that speech, cables from London report, the dilemma of the British Labor Party is worse than ever. The party believes, according to the reports, that if it supports the Churchill four-year plan, it will become only an auxiliary to the Tory Party; while if it opposes the plan and breaks with Churchill, its own leaders now in the government may resign from the party rather than lose their official posts.—THE EDITORS

IN EVERY GREAT POLITICAL CRISIS during the past quarter of a century the epitaph earned by official labor leadership has been "Too little and too late." The same thing is happening again. It is an eerie situation. This is the moment when the labor movement might be regaining some of its old magic. Now is the time when fresh recruits could be brought into the ranks. There would be a whoop of joy all over Great Britain if the order to advance and attack were given. Divisions on the Left would be a thing of the past. We would be one united army.

But who believes that anything like that is going to happen? It is clear that just as the Socialist leader Ramsay MacDonald was the main bulwark of the Tory Party throughout the 1931 crisis, so the Socialist leader Herbert Morrison is determined to pilot a Tory-dominated House of Commons safely through its present troubles. I have no doubt that Mr. Morrison meant it all for the best. But it would be an exhilarating change to find, just once, that Tory leaders were being exploited to serve labor's purposes instead of eternally the other way round.

While the brief margin of time that remains to us to save the peace is being frittered away, the rank and file of the labor movement stirs fretfully. But there is nothing volcanic about this stirring. The truth is that many local Labor Parties have become empty shells.

The most tantalizing feature of the whole situation is that there is a powerful leftward current all over Great Britain, looking for effective leadership. It seeks clear, coherent leadership of a kind that leaves no doubt that we mean business when we talk of winning the peace. In the absence of a fighting lead from the traditional labor movement, this unanchored public opinion looks hopefully around for the next best thing. It splinters off into divergent, often conflicting channels.

The Communist Party benefits from this situation. That is understandable. There would be something fatally wrong with the young men and women of Britain if some at least did not find their enthusiastic admiration of Soviet resistance predisposing them in favor of the British Communist Party.

Common Wealth is another by-product created by timid conservative labor leadership. By its insistence on common ownership of all basic resources *now*, it has an economic policy that places it well to the left of official labor. Common Wealth has so far attracted mainly middle-class supporters. It cannot become a mass party for the same reason that made it impossible for the ILP even in its best days to become a mass party. That is, it has no automatic trade-union affilia-

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tions swelling its membership. But what is of considerable interest is that a mainly middle-class group should be prodding the working-class movement, instead of trying to whittle down its program.

I am convinced that in the past when the labor movement tried to attract middle-class support, it went about it the wrong way, and made a bid for the least worth-while middle-class elements. The old-fashioned way was for a super-conservative labor leader to make a speech, the gist of which was that if the middle class would oblige by voting Labor they could be sure labor would not do anything seriously to disturb the *status quo*.

That old Lib.-Lab. language is a bore and an irritation. There is no place for it in the modern world. The only middle-class elements worth winning over are those whose business and professional experiences have taught them the need for root and branch economic change. The German Social Democrats made the mistake of driving such people into the Nazi camp. They assumed that they were one and all the enemies of the workers. We have still time in Britain to avoid that mistake. But it is not by diluting its policy or postponing the moment of challenge that labor will do so.

Common Wealth is much in my mind at the present time, for it played a part, a much misrepresented part, in the Central Bristol by-election. A small, ardent group of Bristol Common Wealth members were keen to see the seat contested. They approached me to stand as a Common Wealth candidate. I refused. The following day I agreed to stand as an Independent (I belong to no party), but it was not Common Wealth that was responsible for this decision. It was only after four Labor Councillors urged me to stand that I gave any serious consideration to the proposal. Since the official labor movement was highly critical of the political truce, the left wing of the Labor Party felt confident that it could rally the labor vote. Its assumption was that even the right wing of the local labor movement, although remaining officially neutral, would find my policy and record preferable to that of a die-hard Tory. But they were proved wrong. Before the contest ended eight Labor Councillors, a member of the AEU executive and a member of the Coöperative management committee had been expelled from the Labor Party for supporting my candidature. The witch hunt was on. A bewildered public found the position still more incomprehensible when the ILP joined in the hunt.

The incidentals of an election campaign belong to the passing moment. They have no permanent importance. The feature most worth noting about the Bristol by-election was the emergence of a resolute group of people who could not be bemused by Churchill's reputation or intimidated by Labor Party threats of excommunication. They had firmly made up their mind that the present House of Commons is betraying the peace. They were game to fight for their point of view against all comers. It is a tragic waste that so much of their energies should have been diverted from the straightforward task of beating the Tories. The final result, the election of a die-hard Tory M. P., has just this to be said for it. It reveals the strength of the Tory machine when opposed by a divided progressive movement. The Tories in both domestic and military strategy have the whip hand. It is better we should be made to face up to that crude truth rather than delude ourselves that the situation is not really so bad as it is.

Great Britain began the war with a two-thirds Tory majority in the House of Commons. If the electoral truce is to be maintained, that will still be the position at the end of the war. The question we all want answered is just when does official labor mean to take the offensive? Or are its fighting days over? Is it working its way round in a slow, ambiguous curve to the position of a junior partner in a British variant of the Corporate State? It is painful to have to ask these questions. But it is downright treachery to fail to ask them in a murky political situation where an alarming amount of evidence points in that direction.

Nor is it any answer to say that the rank and file of the labor movement is alive to the dangers of the situation. That is not enough. This is not the first time the rank and file has been restive and the leadership dead or asleep. That has happened again and again. But it has not saved us from disaster. It did not save us at the time of the Spanish civil war. It ought not to be forgotten that at that time, while Franco might still have been smashed, the "Arms for Republican Spain" campaign marshaled Labor, Liberal, Communist, ILP, even some Tory support. A clear majority of the people of Britain indicated what they wanted done. But nothing come of it all. That is one of the oddities of our "democratic" system.

Once again throughout Britain there is a great people's movement trying to break through. But once again it is being successfully frustrated. That is the real inside story of the Central Bristol by-election. The by-election was no more than a minor skirmish in the wider battle to save the peace. It is too late in the day for such minor skirmishes. Either the main labor movement must be prepared to challenge the Tories or the whole situation becomes hopeless. The maintenance of the electoral truce will break the spirit of organized labor, or alternately drive its energies into guerrilla warfare. It is better to be a guerrilla warrior than not to fight at all. But the main thrust of progressive opinion both inside and outside the labor movement must now be directed toward ending the party truce.

London JENNIE LEE

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Union-Busting in Kansas

AGRARIAN KANSAS, the old coal-oil-burning incubator of experimental and controversial legislation is back at it after a two-decade relapse from making laws against union labor. The Ides of March in the wind-swept state brought the enactment of a union-labor-control law that is as mean as a buzz-saw in its sixteen punitive measures.

Fidgety because of the arrival of spring and eager to get back to home-front tasks, even the liberal minority of a farmer-dominated legislature condoned the enactment of a law which, should it clear constitutional hurdles, would set back labor in some ways to the days of the Haymarket riot.

Initiated by reactionaries in the state senate, the enacted bill was tossed on the desk of the two-fisted but sometimes too easy-going Governor, Andrew F. Schoeppel. The Governor, with more to think about than at any time since the day when he and his Nebraska University football team-mates beat Notre Dame's Four Horsemen, remembered an overwhelming demand from the rural-route box-holders during the 1942 campaign, and signed the bill. Governor Schoeppel justified his act on the ground that "Labor has come of age . . . that it is now strong enough to accept equal responsibility with management." He approved the bill despite advice to veto from former Govs. Alf M. Landon and Payne Ratner as well as that of Editor William Allen White—a trio of citizens who were influential in his election.

The genesis of Kansas' current slap at unionism dates back to the depression after the First World War and the coal-mine strikes in southeast Kansas. Henry J. Allen, then Governor, initiated the Kansas Industrial Court, a short-lived device which got national attention. Because the provisions were more rigorously administered against organized labor than against capital, the regularly established courts knocked out the Industrial Court. Ever since, the Kansas reactionaries have yearned to get even with labor.

Kansas' current effort to make union labor as meek as a harvest hand courting a farmer's daughter, was conceived in the 1942 Republican gubernatorial campaign. United States Sen. Clyde M. Reed enlivened the campaign by entering the primary on a one-plank platform to stop alleged racketeering in collection of union initiation fees and dues from the new workers in the state's booming war industries. Senator Reed placed third in the race, which made many Schoeppel supporters uneasy. As a result, a labor-regulation plank was written into the platform.

In fourth place in the Republican primary race for Governor was State Sen. Thale P. Skovgard, a farmer-stockman of the plant-by-moon school. A potent reactionary in the legislature, early in the recent session Skovgard introduced a real super-dooper anti-union-labor bill. Too severe for even the farm-minded legislators to stomach, it went by the boards, as did two similar, milder bills.

The law finally enacted is the patched-up product of a senate committee. It was railroaded through with little debate and became a law with the senate concurring in house amendments designed to make it sound more constitutional. It requires filing with the secretary of state of a union's list of official personnel, annual financial statements and annual licensing fees for union "business agents." Then there are sixteen punitive clauses which set out a list of unlawful acts for "any person" to do. The law prohibits holding any union-related election without a secret ballot; striking without a majority vote of employees; secondary boycotts; charging dues and fees that are out of line with published schedules, and picketing outside of specified zones. The anti-sit-down-strike provision makes it "unlawful for any person to seize or occupy property unlawfully during the existence of a labor dispute." Jurisdictional strikes are specifically outlawed.

The law reaffirms labor's right to collective bargaining, which is of course guaranteed by the federal Wagner Act. Employers are told they must live up to this right. Otherwise the only restriction upon them is that, upon request, an employer must write for a worker who is fired or laid off a letter stating how long he was employed, what wages he received and his occupational classification.

Many Kansas Republican newspapers have expressed doubt whether the law will survive the impending test of its constitutionality in the courts. John P. Harris, editor of The Hutchinson News-Herald, summarized his opinion of the law succinctly with the observation: "It stinks." Some Kansas Republican leaders are freely expressing regret that the law throws all kinds of unions into one black pot, especially that it applies to the members of the Railway Brotherhoods, "a well behaved, highly respected bunch of union men in Kansas." But others are justifying the new law on the ground that though industrial peace and quiet reign now, the punitive measure will keep unionism "in its place" when Kansas has a post-war boom.

To an overwhelming majority of Kansas' 175,000 union members the law is an insult. They believe it gives them a criminal status and demand its prompt invalidation through the courts. But thousands of reactionary native sons are bursting with pride that the Sunflower state has reassumed its once well known role as an incubator of experimental tory legislation.

Emporia, Kan. RUSSELL M. ROBERTS

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The Generals Ride Again

America is becoming conscious of its military leaders. For a time this consciousness took the form of a widespread dissatisfaction over the decisions on a second front. With the opening of the North African offensive, however, and the prospect that this will lead eventually to a European invasion, this dissatisfaction has been partially removed. But this merely places the generals more directly in the path of the white light that beats upon a throne. In our future relations with Darlan's successors in North Africa and France, Admiral Leahy's diplomacy as ambassador to Pétain France will be scrutinized anew with an eye to his enormous influence as liaison man between the President and the Chiefs of Staff. General Somervell, just returned from a trip to the war fronts, comes back to find the fight over war production and army supply hotter even than when he left. The reports of General MacArthur's presidential ambitions have been so persistent as to warrant a formal denial on his part.

I do not intend to discuss the strategic ability of our generals and admirals, which has still to pass through a crucible more fiery than the lay opinions of any of us. But what needs threshing out now is the question of the relation of the generals to the broad political and economic decisions in a war state and a war world. We are now entering the phase of the war in which our armies and our air and naval power must be used at an increasing offensive tempo; the phase in which our relations with our allies, and the problems of ironing out difficulties of production, supply and transport, become crucial. In such a phase the civilian heads of the services, whose concern is with organization rather than with action, will be pushed into the background, and the generals will ride again.

What are these generals like, and what is their outlook? In a peacetime democracy the prestige of the military services is notoriously low. The cream of the young talent goes into business and its related professions and not into training for war. One can attribute this, as the generals have repeatedly done, to the disease of pacifism, and yet that does not cut deep enough. One reason is that in a business civilization the career devoted to national survival rather than the arts of acquisition is likely to suffer an unintelligent neglect. As Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out in 1895, Americans "would rather that their daughters or their sisters should marry a son of one of the great, rich families than a regular army officer, were he as beautiful, brave and gifted as Sir William Napier." Another reason is that pacifism becomes possible when the whole society lacks the imaginative capacity to envisage a war of annihilation directed against itself. Such a society is pervaded, even in the military services themselves, by a complacency which cannot grasp the fact of the enemy as a social force, and which does not therefore provide the dynamic to evoke the energies of the best young men. The 1942 congressional elections were proof that our people are still prisoners of the illusion that the enemy is not a worldwide social force.

A negative result of this—and a valuable one—has been the absence in America of the ambitions and the arrogance of a military caste. The generals have been genial, businesslike, mostly conservative Republicans, and, at their best, good technicians—a mirror of the nation itself. Many of them were isolationists before Pearl Harbor. Their most intense political feeling is likely to be of a primitive sort of nationalism. They are politically naïve men: averse as they have proved in the past to technical innovation in their own arts of warfare, they are likely to be even more averse to social innovations. Suppressing their own dislike of the New Deal here, they are likely to project it safely into hostility toward progressive or radical regimes abroad. I have said that they do not grasp the idea of the enemy as a social force as the Russians do, or the Loyalists during the Spanish war. Neither, therefore, do they grasp the idea of defense as a social force, the idea that their best military weapons lie in the health and strength of a whole society on the march. Only rarely is there a military leader who sees it—as Admiral Sims perhaps—but he is so rare as to be a mutation.

Given our generals and admirals, the idea we have operated on—of a separation of powers between the civilian and the military—has been a good working rule. The three civil heads—the President, Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy—do not interfere with matters of military organization and strategy. Conversely, the military does not interfere in political matters. But this working rule is headed for trouble. For modern war is total, and modern war is global.

When we say that modern war is total, we are not uttering a dead platitude. We are expressing the living reality of something in which all the phases of warfare —military, economic, political, ideological—are hopelessly interwoven. The liberals who have concentrated on political and ideological warfare, and who think that in this area they can reckon without the generals, are talking sheer romanticism, as the whole military-political episode in North Africa has proved. We are in a period when military decisions may mean the life and death of nations and of social systems, and when the men who make them are obviously making politi-

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cal decisions as well. When a world is in the breaking and making, war becomes a crucial *political* act.

America is today a reservoir of munitions and manpower for the whole United Nations. We must understand at the very risk of our souls that the allocation of these resources involves vast political consequences. It may settle the fate of China, it may decide what our relations will be with Russia as a post-war force, it may determine the whole social complexion of the post-war world. If the generals calculate on America's carrying its share of military operations in Europe and Asia and of being in a position to control the political situation, they will, of course, plan for a colossal American army. This in turn will mean new responsibilities resting on the generals, going beyond their strictly military tasks.

War, as Clemenceau once said, is too important to be left to the generals. What may once have been uttered as a quip by a sardonic and worldly-wise civilian becomes a deep truth in a time of total and global war. In Japan the military has sought a solution by taking over complete control of all civilian and political matters. In both Russia and Germany the military has been incorporated into the party state and is under a political leadership which prides itself on its knowledge of military matters. Neither of these solutions would be compatible with our democratic tradition. But we can resolve the difficulty—first, by a United Nations joint political command which would formulate the political considerations involved in military decisions; second, by a United Nations joint military command for each great theatre of the war, to fulfill in military terms the tasks laid down by political leaders. This means that the generals would be subordinate in the broad conduct of the war to the political leaders. That is as it should be. What Harold Laski said of all experts applies to the generals: they should be on tap and not on top.

Every army needs an efficient economy for its supplies: if an army had its way, it would organize the economy itself. Yet even in Russia it has not done so, nor in Germany. However good the generals may be as military technicians, they know almost nothing about the problems of economic organization. Yet in America there is a strong thrust today toward the control of our supply organization by the army. The clashes between the army and Donald Nelson have become chronic. Nelson's recent ousting from the WPB of Ferdinand Eberstadt, who represented the army's viewpoint, and his extending of full power to C. E. Wilson, represent a temporary victory for the civilians. But the army will have its innings.

If the army goes back to its original M-Day plan and takes over the economy as a function of its supply organization, it will be because the civilian authorities haven't been strong enough to do the job. If the army marches in, it will be because there is a vacuum. The civilian authorities, headed by Mr. Nelson, will be powerless to fight the trend unless they themselves can get the job done adequately. To get it done, however, involves a more drastic reorganization of the war economy than the administration seems capable of.

The craziest part of the situation is that even if the army gets the civilian job, it will not do it well. If the war should last another three or four years and impose greater strains on the economy, and if the failure of the dollar-a-year men becomes clearer, the alternatives will be to try the younger and more radical New Dealers or to try the army. President Roosevelt has not shown the strength necessary to make the first choice, and it is doubtful that he will show it now. Hence the generals are the logical residuary legatees for the dollar-a-year men. When the latter find that they cannot keep the reins in their own hands, they will prefer to surrender them to the generals.

Whether in this process the war is won or lost, the isolationists would like to have a post-war regime of generals. The New York Daily News has already launched an editorial campaign to bring the generals into power. "The soldiers have said they will take the driver's seat, and we believe that they will—and should." And again, "We expect the returning warriors to take control of this country after the war and run it in whatever way the majority of them want it to be run"—this in an editorial column which, without any sign of irony, runs an accompanying photograph of President Ulysses S. Grant.

There can be no question that there is a lot of unused potential hero-worship among the American people. The quickness with which the MacArthur worship flared up after he was transferred to Australia is an evidence of this—as also of the forces behind the boom. There are noticeable signs that a MacArthur-for-President campaign in 1944 is now being prepared, and that some of the people formerly behind the America First movement are behind it. I recall a public speech last spring by one of General MacArthur's colleagues, saying that MacArthur has always thought of himself as a man of destiny. I don't like men of destiny. There are also reports that some of the Big Industry groups are grooming Gen. Hanford MacNider, formerly American Legion head, and recently wounded and decorated in the Australian battle area.

It is too early to say what candidates for the role of general-into-President the military events of the next two years will turn up. One can only say now that, given the social outlook of most of the generals, a general in the presidency in 1944 would be nothing short of catastrophic. The generals have a real place in the post-war scheme—as technicians, since we shall need a sizable military force for some time. But it is not too early to start now preparing our minds against the campaign to betray the whole democratic effort by turning the conduct of our country over to a military caste.

MAX LERNER

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Washington Notes

The Times and Its Crochets

ONE OF THE ODDEST and in some ways most lamentable changes in American journalism is the gradual hardening of the arteries of The New York Times. It was not always so. The conservative trend seems to be growing now at an accelerating rate. Dorothy Thompson called attention to it last week when she referred to The Times's extraordinary outburst over the National Resources Planning Board's report. Of this editorial Miss Thompson said that "The Times is falling below its usual intellectual level." Well—that is one way of putting it.

The matter is bigger than just The New York Times. In many ways The Times has been the greatest newspaper in America. Its cable and foreign coverage is unexampled. It opens its letter columns generously to dissent. It is the paper, more than any other, that serves as a reference for libraries, institutions and other journals. Its voice is heard across the water. The Times ought, and I think tries, to be something more than a local organ; it seeks the stature of a national institution. But this imposes certain obligations as well as a different standard of criticism.

The Times, as a national institution, can take almost any path it chooses. But it must do so on a national and not on a petty basis. The charge against The Times is, not that it is becoming conservative but that it is becoming crochety. There is an increasing tendency to pettiness and hysteria. On some subjects it is hard to think of any other word than "screwball."

It hardly fits in with the larger indictment, perhaps, but The Times recently muffed the interpretation of the President's attitude toward the Ball-Burton-Hill-Hatch resolution. Mr. Arthur Krock, its Washington correspondent, had published several articles on his own pet version of a proposed Senate resolution, and when the four Senators ignored him, it may have been a trifle upsetting. The Republican Herald Tribune welcomed the move enthusiastically, but Mr. Krock wasn't sure but that it would be better to let it "molder in a pigeonhole"; the timid Times editorial felt it "less likely to solve problems than to raise them," and the Times copy desk presented Mr. Roosevelt in a four-column headline as "cool" to the scheme, a misinterpretation which the President promptly removed.

That The Times has parted company with the administration on domestic matters everybody knows. This, again, is The Times's own business. But as a national institution it ought to preserve its balance. That it has not, I propose to show. For instance, take the question of post-war planning.

The rather querulous Times editorial pattern in such matters is to react first and find out about it later. Take, for example, its first comment on quotations from Sir William Beveridge, on October 27, before the details of his famous plan had been published.

"Sir William Beveridge, confusing what is necessary in war with what is desirable in peace, is urging for England a socialized state after the war," cried The Times in alarm. On the face of it, this is pretty silly, and even British Tories would hardly go so far. Yet before The Times was through, it had found in the excerpts from Sir William matters to remind it of "Communist Russia and Nazi Germany."

Later on, when The Times really found out something about the Beveridge plan, it took a much more reasonable approach. Maybe that will also be the case in regard to the twin reports of the National Resources Planning Board.

As regards these reports, The Times wrote two editorials which really approached hysteria. The two documents are the ones of which Ernest K. Lindley, writing in Newsweek, said, "The most striking characteristic of these reports is their essential conservatism." The Times, however, found them radical, all through. In its first editorial it again sounds the tocsin against socialism, and declared that even if the plan had been good "it is highly questionable whether it would be wise to put it before Congress at just this time."

This was too much even for The Herald Tribune. It wrote: "The objection that Congress, already immersed in debate over the various phases of the war economy, should be spared consideration of what is to follow, seems to us a counsel of timidity."

It is curious to note, in passing, how much more liberal, relatively, The Herald Tribune, a party paper, frankly Republican, is becoming than the erstwhile "independent Democratic" New York Times.

Well, it was in the second of its two leading editorials that The Times really went to town. Under a portentous title, "Which Path, America?" The Times reacted like an elderly spinster with a man under her bed. It began with a passing gasp at the Beveridge plan. "Quite aside from the fact that the Beveridge plan itself is an imitation of Bismarck's state-insurance system, which laid the foundation for the German welfare state that ended in Nazism, the NRPB plans go far beyond it."

Just analyze that argument. New Zealand already has the Beveridge plan, so you can see, by The Times's reasoning, it is headed sure enough for Nazism. Any proposal for social amelioration by government is damned by the same large argument. But this is only the beginning. Say it under your breath, but the NRPB's report envisages a "mixed economy"! (As though the TVA had not been operating successfully in America for ten years, and the British Port of London Authority since 1908.) And that is not all, for The Times sees in the mild recommendation for "a share in business management by labor," which amounts to an indorsement of labor-management councils and is a recommendation the Archbishop of Canterbury has been preaching all over Britain, a derivation from "Bolshevist ideology." To accept the NRPB's reports would "mark the beginning of the Europeanization of America," says the writer (who must be an Indian aborigine) and before he is done he even drags the poor old Post Office into the argument, and makes you feel that it is a pretty socialistic institution at that!

Well, there is the National Institution. We all love The Times too much to rub it in. But surely, even for a timid conservative, it can do better than this. Can't it borrow a little liberalism, say, from The Herald Tribune—or even from the Hearst press?

Washington T. R. B.

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Zanuck at the Front

"AT THE FRONT IN NORTH AFRICA" is a fact film made by Darryl Zanuck during the first stages of the African campaign. It follows American tank troops into their landing at Bone, through an undecipherable air attack, to a routing of Mark IV tanks at the battle of Tebourba. With thirty-four men under his supervision Zanuck still couldn't erase the impression that these were shots taken by an amateur photographer who found himself turning a camera on doings he never expected to see. Like a scared rabbit, the film runs out of the middle of one event smack into the tail-end of another, stays strictly away from people and glances nervously at airplane and tank battles out of the corner of an eye. Mr. Zanuck doesn't, in this manner, get inside of facts.

To explain deficiencies in films like this one, army and newsreel people have some valid excuses. Censors allow scarcely any battle film to get to the public (one commander, for instance, was just swerved from destroying all the film on Pearl Harbor). The terrain and the kind of light in the jungles of Guadalcanal and other tropical battle areas called for the kind of camera work of which most Service crews are not yet capable, and much of the fighting in such areas is at night. Modern warfare is immensely difficult to photograph because air battles are too fast and cover too much distance during their course for a camera to hold in focus, and in engagements of tanks and infantry there seems little for the camera to get hold of. Cameramen, while allowed to take reels and reels of soldiers eating and tanks disembarking, are frequently barred from the battle zones. Such reasons as these would seem to explain a good deal.

The main historical value of "At the Front" will be the officially posed pictures of Gens. Mark Clark, Cunningham and Anderson with Darlan and our own Pétain man, Robert Murphy. The view of the terrain our men are fighting in is interesting, since it definitely does away with the picture of darkest Africa most of us grew up with. The narrative for the movie is excellent because there is so little of it and because of the words at the close of the battle: "This morning when the battle started this was a conquered valley in the hands of the enemy; now it is a free valley." "At the Front," like "The Battle of Midway," is in bleary technicolor, mostly hazy blue atmosphere in which details can only be approximately picked out. These only film records of our troops at war are hardly the place to use such an imprecise medium.

In addition to the physical difficulties, there is something else behind the ineptitude of films like "At the Front." This is the fact that Americans know very little of how to make movie documents. Americans who made fine ones before the war, like Flaherty, Lorenz and Strand, aren't making war documentaries, and their earlier work had no effect on Hollywood. While Hollywood in its story films depended entirely on cast-iron plots of flashy incident to get their pseudo-life and pseudo-movement, no one, not even the newsreel companies, examined human actions and behavior in detail with the motion-picture camera. Whereas Eisenstein in Russia, Ivens in Holland and Grierson and Legg in England were watching the daily life in fields, factories and coal mines with their cameras, not only in documentaries but in story films as well. So that American directors generally, without their preconceived plot to use, are unable to film actuality and get from it its meaning and emotion, a technique which can't be acquired in a day.

In Canada, in England and in Russia experienced workers are, to quote Dovzhenko, "recording the visual aspect of war completely and unflinchingly," consequently outranking the Americans. This is apparent in any Russian film. One of their most powerful jobs is one out now called "A Day of War—Russia, 1943," which was shot by 150 cameramen, some sixty of whom were killed doing it. In every part of it there is just what American documents lack —the pinprick in each episode that makes it something more than ordinary.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Americans, especially American labor, freest in the world, have had liberty and with it went equality of opportunity. Under impulse of a European idea of democracy, false, because it was based on misunderstanding of the freedom which Americans of all classes were enjoying, they are trying to trade it for a mess—a mess of pottage, which they call "social security." – *An editorial in The Gunnison, Colorado, News-Champion.*

This composition by a very twentieth-century young Russian [Prokofiev] is a serious attempt to reproduce eighteenth-century ideals in modern idiom. It is inspired specifically by Mozart who, were he living now, might have written as Prokofiev thought he would and then again might not. – *From the program notes for a concert by the Norfolk (Va.) Symphony Orchestra.*

I never saw a happy rich man, unless it was the late J. P. Morgan, who cast aside all his riches into government bonds and maintained his bank mainly for the purposes of employment rather than power. – *Paul Mallon in his syndicated column.*

Which Side Is He Cheering For?

I have seen the essential facts of national resistance. I have seen the heroism of hostages, proud to die to maintain resistance. I have seen workers stick to their jobs under the bombing of their factories by Allied planes. – *From a UP report of a recent speech in Algiers by General Giraud.*

Psst! Your Slip Isn't Showing

Dressed in an unobtrusive turban and shoes, which contrasted with strings of pearls and bracelets of gold, the Parisian fashion designer. . . . – *From an interview with Mlle. Schiaparelli in The Washington Post.*

Total-War Department

Said an announcer on a recent Kay Kyser program over NBC: "To the men of the navy, who face untold dangers, we pay tribute as we pause for station identification." – *From the Sunday radio section of The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Neighborbood Leaders

SIR: I was amazed at your allusion in The New Republic for March 22 to the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture. It is time you differentiated between the fifteen states where the Farm Bureau by state law is the local coöperating body with the state and federal governments and the other thirty-three where the local share of the Extension's support is on the tax budget.

In the next place I would be interested in the proof that the Neighborhood Leader system has been used to "counteract the administration's farm objectives." . . . The Neighborhood Leader system was started in several states almost simultaneously after Pearl Harbor, and in one before. It was given national recognition in a conference just a year ago of which I was chairman and general consultant. It is significant that the system was most resisted and started most slowly in some of the most conservative of the above-mentioned fifteen states in which it would have been most likely to be used as you charge. Not a single word along the lines you charge was even spoken at the second Neighborhood Leader conference, just adjourned, at which I was again the general consultant.

It happens that I was asked to study the workings of this system on the field last fall. One of my graduate students is continuing the appraisal. Nearly one-third of the states have been examined, as have the content of the training programs. There is wide diversity in method but I have found, with the possible exception of one state, nothing that would even remotely justify your charge.

Rather it is a libel on busy farm men and women who have squeezed in time for extra war tasks—collecting scrap, promoting victory gardens, etc. Many of these Neighborhood Leaders are AAA men or women, thousands are Farm Security clients. Nearly 100,000 have never had previous contact with any field division of the United States Department of Agriculture, or only with the AAA. This would be an unlikely lot indeed to use for the dark purpose you name even if the Extension Service had such a purpose.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER,
Teachers' College, New York City Professor of Rural Sociology

The Catholic Issue

SIR: An objective investigation of "The Catholic Issue," as suggested by George P. West in his brave article in The New Republic of March 1, would flatly contradict his own statement of Mgr. John A. Ryan, that "he has the flaming spirit of the true American democrat."

Every new edition of Mgr. Ryan's book, "The State and the Church," written and edited for the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and with the *Imprimatur* of Cardinal Hayes and his board of censors, repeats the declaration (p. 38):

> But constitutions can be changed, and non-Catholic sects may decline to such a point that political proscription of them may become feasible and expedient. What protection would they then have against a Catholic state? The latter could logically tolerate only such religious activities as were confined to the members of the dissenting group. It could not permit them to carry on general propaganda nor accord their organization certain privileges that had formerly been extended to all religious corporations. . . .

And how could anyone with "the flaming spirit of the true American democrat" praise the unspeakable Brooklyn Tablet? PM of May 7, 1941, devoted a full page to the reproduction of a letter sent by Mgr. Ryan to a Catholic layman and his wife, in which The Tablet came in for a bit of criticism. But on May 27, PM printed Mgr. Ryan's apology to The Tablet, in which he said: "I regard The Tablet as one of our most useful Catholic newspapers."

New York City LEO H. LEHMANN

The New Zionism

SIR: Zionism suffers an injustice at your hands. You speak of the New Zionism [The New Republic, March 8] as the all-embracing Zionism of today. Please be informed that you refer not to the Zionism of today but to a perverted Zionism of today, a Zionism formerly known as revisionism and detested and denounced by Zionists particularly and all other liberals in general. It is unjust to misinform the public by such sweeping general implication as you employed in your editorial. Surely the previously uninformed reader will gather that the small minority of Jewish Fascists to whom you refer are indeed the very backbone of the Zionist movement. Furthermore, you display downright stupidity when you term the Jewish problem a problem of anti-Semitism and fail to recognize it as the problem of Jewish homelessness. Your reference to Western Europe as proof of the success of assimilationism is so contradicted by events discussed in the same editorial as to make comment unnecessary. The lack of study displayed in your editorial serves to invalidate your conclusion that a national Jewish homeland and a Jewish flag will not be necessary. Shame on you for wishing on this people only the limited degree of equality of security and opportunity which they enjoy in England and the United States. Surely Jewish soldiers everywhere, especially in our South, would want to fight for a more liberal minimum than that.

St. Petersburg, Fla. PVT. JOSEPH WEISENBAUM

SIR: I read your editorial, "The New Zionism," with great interest. You have done the Zionist cause a signal service by bringing to the fore the disruptive influence of the New Zionist Organization of America. Loyal Zionists roundly condemn this group for the irresponsible methods which they employ, and for their utter lack of discipline. On the other hand, Zionists are in complete agreement with this organization concerning the two demands of which you make mention in your editorial, namely, the creation of a Jewish army and a seat for the Jews in the council of the United Nations.

The need for a Jewish army, to be composed of Palestinian and stateless Jews, has long been recognized in Zionist circles. Such a desire on the part of the Palestinian Jew, who has no other political affiliations except with his old-new homeland, requires no explanation. As to the stateless Jews, they have not been persecuted as Poles, Czechs or Germans, but as Jews. Why should they not be given the right to fight back as Jews?

The second demand of the New Zionist Organization of America, with which you take issue, is their request that the Jews be given a seat in the council of the United Nations. Sir, can the Jews trust to the good will of their Gentile friends to see that justice will be accorded them and that some attempt be made to solve their problems? You yourselves point out that

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"it is now three months since the United Nations issued their joint declaration condemning the Nazi atrocities," which has, as yet, resulted in no positive action. If the Jews were given representation at the United Nations round table, they would, at least, have a fighting chance of having their claims heard.

Cincinnati, O. BERNICE LEVIN

SIR: I have been a reader of The New Republic for many years and have been heartened by its consistently liberal attitude and its keen analysis of problems both at home and abroad. It is therefore as a friendly critic that I submit this letter in reply to the editorial in your March 8 issue.

First may I may clear that the *New* Zionist Organization is the Revisionist group which seceded from the World Zionist Organization in 1935 because it differed from the latter both in its political policies and more particularly in its methods of achieving them. The Zionist organizations of America and the Jewish Agency for Palestine which are officially responsible for the upbuilding program in Palestine therefore exert no authority over the New Zionist Organization, its propaganda or program.

I would not, however, request the courtesy of your columns for this letter merely to correct an organizational misunderstanding, important though that may be. It is to your editorial comment—made with full understanding of the tragedy which European Jewry is now undergoing and with due appreciation of the work in Palestine—that I direct this letter. You take the position that the idea of putting Jews into a separate army is synonymous with "segregating the Jews" and "seems much like the complement of the Nazi attitude toward them." The Zionists are not asking for a separate Jewish army, but only for the organization of Jewish units of Palestinian Jews fighting under their own colors and under Allied command. Stateless Jews, who are at present unable to make their contribution to the war effort as combatants, should be allowed to enlist in these units. Certainly the Jews in Palestine, of whom 135,000 voluntarily registered for war service in the first weeks after the outbreak of war, and of whom 30,000 are now in the British armed services in the Near East, have the right to fight as Jews, since they have no other nationality and are recruited in the Jewish national home. There are Polish units, Czech units, Free French units. No one has considered this a segregation or an extension of the Nazi attitude. We recognize that men are stirred by their own flag and moved to heroic sacrifices by what it symbolizes. The flag of Palestine Jewry is the Zionist white and blue—they have no other.

Your editorial also addresses itself to the long-range solution. You state that the present tragic situation in Europe "does not mean that they [the Jews] must be forced or even urged to find permament homes elsewhere." No official Zionist group or Zionist leader has ever stated that the Jews of Europe should be forced to emigrate. Zionists, together with other Jewish groups, and in concert with all American citizens fighting for the Four Freedoms, will demand that the duties and the privileges of all citizens in reconstructed Europe be accorded to the Jews. There will, however, be large numbers who for economic or psychological reasons will be unable to return to their pre-war status. Jews, like every other people, need a soil—a place where they belong "as of right"—a homeland in which they are free "to add their stone to the pyramid of history." In this homeland the Jewish flag will evoke the same fervor of devotion and of sacrifice as Old Glory does among us. In times when the things worth living for must be fought for, Jews in Palestine will join the struggle by sending their manpower into battle as Jews. What makes this right for every other people but wrong for the Jews in their homeland?

New York City ROSE L. HALPRIN

SIR: My wife, myself and our three children belong to the comparatively few German Jews who managed to escape the Nazi hell. We have been living in America for almost three years; we love it and we all have only one goal: to become true and loyal American citizens and to do our very best in the conduct of our life to help to preserve, protect and—if and where possible—develop and further the marvelous traditions on which the American way is built. My eldest son is happy to be inducted into the armed forces of this country shortly, and the younger boy is an ardent member of the local Boy Scout unit. We think acting in this way has always been the manner of all immigrants who came to this country of liberty, justice and freedom in good faith after leaving their respective homelands for some political, religious or economic reason.

This attitude may explain why I so wholeheartedly agree with your editorial and why I would be glad if more publications took the same line. I see an immense danger to thousands of Jewish immigrants who feel and think the same way as I do, if the doctrines represented by this New Zionist movement should become part of general public opinion, because if they should succeed in influencing leading men of this country by their false and unproved statements, it will be much more difficult, if not impossible, for us immigrants to ever become citizens of this country.

I don't intend to go further into details concerning the conditions under which Jews lived in Europe before Hitler; I could only underline your short remarks on that point which are literally correct. But what I want to mention is that I attended a meeting of the Committee for a Jewish Army and I was horrified to hear one prominent speaker make a typical propaganda speech. He actually said: If there are still Jews who do not agree with us they must be forced to go our way!

Please keep your eye on this movement, which I hope is represented only by an extremist but apparently powerful wing of the Zionists, and keep on fighting this danger on behalf of thousands of immigrants who feel as I do.

Hollywood, Calif. ERIC FURST

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Tom Boggs of New York City, who has written poetry for The New Republic, salutes Vincent McHugh's short poem, "Troop Movement," in the March 29 issue: "A beauty, and congratulations to McHugh."

Frank Berman, of the Bronx, New York City, a single-taxer, thinks that "the better post-war world being planned by Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt and Beveridge is evidently going to consist of more and bigger soup kitchens . . . medical care to rehabilitate temporarily broken-down wage slaves, and for his ripe old age an almshouse pension." . . . Samuel Bristol, Whittier, California, writes to say that the newspapers greatly exaggerate the insignificant number of strikes in war factories. The public has forgotten, he says, but labor remembers, that many big industrialists "refused to turn a wheel in 1940-41 until Congress revised the excess-profits taxes to suit their wishes." He mentions also their refusal to expand production of steel and aluminum, refusal to use small plants as Reuther suggested, refusal to make synthetic rubber out of alcohol. . . . Sanford Bookee of Los Angeles, California, compares the plans of the National Resources Planning Board and of the National Association of Manufacturers and feels that both of them require skeptical examination. . . . Catharine McCulloch of Chicago writes to criticize the "Equal Rights Amendment" advocated by Emma Guffy Miller in the letter column in our issue of March 15. Miss McCulloch believes that endless confusion would be created in regard to many laws passed by the various states setting up special protection for women.

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Books in Review

Personal History, Cont'd

SEVERAL THINGS have happened to Vincent Sheean, as a writer and a person, during the eight years since he published his "Personal History." In the first place his style, which was always good, has greatly improved in his new book, "Between the Thunder and the Sun."[1] The first chapter is a splendid piece of writing, and it is splendid, too, as an evocation of Cannes and Salzburg before the war—Toscanini at the Mozart Festival, Chaliapin as an old man, Maxine Elliott in her chateau and Churchill in temporary retirement, painting like a gifted amateur, talking politics and slowly changing his picture of events—all of these people existing in a tarnished golden haze and all except Churchill coming to stand for a world that has disappeared. And when Sheean describes the end of that world, he not only writes with more perspective than the other correspondents—as you would expect of him—but also with a feeling for the past of Europe and a deep sense of literary values.

But, in the second place, he has fallen into the habit of talking about himself in the wrong contexts. He talked about himself in "Personal History" too, but that was a somewhat different matter, for Vincent Sheean was the subject of the book. He was telling how one man—who happened to be himself—acquired a sense of history through undergoing certain experiences; and anything the hero felt or said was pertinent to the general effect. But now his real subject is the death in war of a great civilization, so that the sad reflections and brilliant acquaintanceships of Vincent Sheean seem a little dragged in by the heels. Moreover, the reader suspects another change of emphasis. In that first book, Sheean had adventures, and they changed him, and then, with a great deal of objectivity, he wrote about the changes. This time you feel that the writing came first, in his mind; and that he had the adventures and felt the appropriate emotions partly in order to document a book that was already planned.

Meanwhile Sheean himself has become more of a personage. Back in 1935, foreign correspondents were merely tolerated by the great men of the world, but by 1940 they had become political powers capable of influencing their nations and helping to determine the outcome of the war. In England, a correspondent's passport carried a visa to official society and the privilege of spending weekends in big country houses among the potato fields that used to be lawns. Sheean himself had acquired a somewhat special position. He had married into the English gentry, and many of the English political leaders were friends of his wife's family; and living among them he was more than a little impressed by their glamor. But since he was also living among the other correspondents, he was sometimes sent on his way with a Bronx cheer. William Stoneman of The Chicago News was especially fond of tormenting him. "During the few days I had spent at his house," Sheean says, "he had been obliged to answer the telephone for me a number of times, and he would leave sarcastic little notes beside the instrument saying, 'The Duchess of Westminster wants you to come to cocktails tomorrow. Will you please ring up the King tonight? And don't forget Lady Astor.' Among such messages," Sheean continues, "there would be one true one (from Loelia Westminster, for example) and two or three fabrications of his satirical roguery."

I can see absolutely nothing wrong with knowing the Duchess of Westminster well enough to call her by her first name, if Sheean really knows her so well. The company she invites to her cocktail parties may be much more interesting than the people an ordinary correspondent would meet, in ordinary times. Nevertheless, Sheean makes us a little uncomfortable by his explanations and apologies. He says, "I can go on for weeks in the company of the rich and powerful without a qualm," and you feel he is making an understatement. "I know my brothers are toiling and dying, that the whole earth is a hecatomb; swift shadows of their misery sometimes pass across the lighted feast; in my blood and brain and heart I am with them. And yet, in actual fact, I may be drinking champagne with a duke"—and again there is nothing wrong with that, if the champagne is well iced and not too sweet. What bothers you is Sheean's obvious worry about his new friends. He has shifted his point of view since the revolution in Hankow, when he used to sit at the feet of Borodin, and this time he won't confess to having changed.

In a sense, he has allowed his footing to be swept out from under him. It is a long time since he was a poor, lazy but rather brilliant student at the University of Chicago; and longer still since he lived in Pana, Illinois, and was tutored in French by a devout and kindly Irish priest; these are homes to which he will never go back. For a time he found another home with his wife's family, in the village of St. Margaret on the cliffs above the Channel; but the big cottage there was closed after the death of Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson, his father-in-law, and the whole district is now a reserved military area. He found still another home, this time intellectual, in the Marxist scheme of history which enabled him to fit the events of the day into an everlasting pattern by taking what he called the long view; and because the Marxists were usually right about the political events of the 1930's, Sheean earned a reputation as a prophet. But he is no longer a Marxist, if he ever was one at heart; he belongs to no pattern whatever. Until he was commissioned in the Air Corps, he was simply a man drifting round the world, writing pieces for the magazines, meeting brilliant people, and himself being lovable, brilliant and still prophetic.

The trouble is that there is no longer a basis for his prophecies, whether in American or English life, in Catholic or Communist ideology. He is well informed, quick-witted, perceptive and usually right in his large statements about men and nations; but I distrust these prophets who

[1] Between the Thunder and the Sun, by Vincent Sheean. New York: Random House. 428 pages. $3.

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speak each from his individual cloud; they begin to depend completely on their own intuitions; they scold, they exhort, and some day they are going to find themselves terribly wrong. MALCOLM COWLEY

The Beast in the Jungle

Dark Wedding, by Ramon J. Sender. Translated from the Spanish by Eleanor Clark. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 305 pages. $2.50.

RAMON SENDER'S LATEST NOVEL is an extremely keen but curiously arid symbolist novel in a melodramatic setting. It is being presented, if one can judge from the English title, the dust cover and accompanying blurb, as a lurid thriller ("A tense and dramatic story of an innocent girl in a world of monstrous and frenzied men"), and the pouting lady on the cover, surveying a picture-postcard Mexico with coy eyes, might be Rita Hayworth in a mantilla. But those who buy it as a thriller will want their money back, and nothing could be more misleading as a guide to the book and to a very serious artist.

All settings today are superficially lurid, and Sender's is a penal colony in the Caribbean. But Sender belongs to that small company of left-wing moralists, like Silone, Malraux and Koestler, who have learned from the disasters of the last decade to study more closely the springs of evil in men and the human itch for authority. Where the left-wing novel was once a naturalistic photograph, or a list of grievances, it can now be, in certain hands, an almost poetic instrument of interpretation—poetic not in the sense of "poetic" texture, but in the desire to go down into the crevices of reality and to light up their darks through the use of symbol and myth. And Sender, like Silone, is also a radical *religieux* (in his "Seven Red Sundays" the Anarchist girl went to confession after setting her bomb, but she went to confession); he is the heir, whatever his own syndicalist leanings, of a Latin church culture in which the concept of original sin and the use of a formal religious vocabulary of grace, sanctity and aspiration are bred in men from their birth.

Sender's penal island here can therefore be understood only in terms of those other penal settings which modern European novelists have found so appropriate to our age. Yet I call it symbolist rather than symbolic because its representation in fantasy is total rather than transparently allegorical. Though there are many obvious symbols in the book, the whole of it composes a rather dry and remote imaginative order in itself rather than a simple allegorical guide, and its meaning is total. For Sender is not, it seems to me, writing only in parable; he is trying to locate hidden meanings as well as to illuminate parallels. The penal colony is the jungle of the spirit, as the inmates are the beasts expelled from good society. But what he is really seeking is the beast in the jungle that Henry James described in his story of that name—the beast that waits in all of us and for all of us, while we look for it everywhere else; the beast of self-knowledge and of that evil or misfortune which is imminent precisely because it is immanent as well.

The recorded crimes of the prisoners, or the penal cruelty and indifference of their overseers, are nothing, therefore, considered against the subterranean reality. That is why their crimes emerge on the page as childish, pitiful and impulsive. Sender knows very well the Spanish trick which Hemingway picked up, that double talk forced upon a writer by a ritualistic tradition, which describes a scene of violence in lazy understatement (or with cryptic tenderness), and then drives it home by quietly recording the utter perplexity or exhausted rage of the criminal. Yet here it is more than a device: the very theme of the life described here is that the recorded, the pre-penal, history of crime is almost meaningless, and that the true guilt or innocence of each prisoner begins with his knowledge of his crime, or with his use of prison life. Horrible as each crime is, it suggests an unconsciousness on the part of the criminal that almost confers innocence upon it.

The only real criminal here is Careto, the German Jew turned "Aryan" and fascist who once drowned a boyhood friend in a Berlin lake, and who has now turned fascist because he has no will toward the ideal. The ideal here is the young virgin-bride, Nina, whose husband, Black Trinidad, was the director of the colony and was murdered by the inmates on his wedding night. For the other prisoners, who have broken loose after the director's murder, Nina is an object of desire, since her virginity is the symbolic innocence to which the inmates aspire, if only to be near it. But Careto is sexless and wants only power, being above desire; wants only, as he cries, to be the gelded wolf dominating the swine. Life goes on in the penal colony, but the penal coercion is gone; the men are "free," yet never have they been so chained, so immediately clear to us. While Nina unwittingly, in the jungle darkness, torments and excites the others, and makes the good school teacher, Dario, fall in love with her, Careto merely manipulates their desire for her to his own purpose.

Dario, as it happens, does win her at the end, after walking through fire. "In all this, life peopled by monsters, but with a little path between the monsters. For everybody, no matter whom, some little path." Yet when Nina sees the mask of a human face in the sand, she cries: "What is it?" That is the real substance of the story, the search for the human identity, and it explains why the parable above is only the framework of the story. For the book consists preponderantly of dreamlike sequences, curious twisting episodes in violence, that do give it an order of its own. There is a hint to their meaning in the preface, where Sender remarks that we go to God with joy and goodness in our hearts, but "thinking to speak to Him of our true selves we speak only of the swine that sleeps in our hearts." Yet God knows that even the reality "of the angel, like all reality, is for both you and me only a pretext." And Sender concludes: "Yes, Lord, we accept this." We accept, that is, anything that will illuminate, and so destroy, the pretexts we use; and perhaps it is not so much innocence that we need as simple truth of what we are and what we want—even our swinishness can be a supplication, when known.

If I read the novel correctly in this light, the element of fantasy in the book (which is extraordinarily dense and not easy to describe) "expresses" the convolutions of the human spirit in its effort at self-knowledge, in its need of

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the ideal. Virtue, in the religious sense, then becomes equivalent not to abnegation, but to understanding—a satisfaction which will confer its own humility, excellence and peace. What Sender seems to be saying, then, is that it is not the capacity for evil that is so great in man, but his capacity for masquerade. The Freudian dream is only one moment in the dream of life; it is only an intermittent release, a moment's content; the dream goes on, is what we call "reality"; we are forever climbing its ladders. Good and evil run together, biologically and socially; man is what he is, and he is only your political or sexual animal. But what remains for man, what gives us a clue in our darkness, is that "life is an ideal in process." Man falls through the very loopholes of the mind that lie to him most; yet perhaps, in the end, it is not so much his innate capacity for anything that torments and destroys him so much as it is the pretexts which keep him from the ideal.

This is the beast in the jungle; and as James said, we are pulled by its chain—or retrace its links in ourselves. Yet Sender's novel, for all its depth of understanding, has this disability—the idea he presents is more dramatic, even more visible, than the scenes and characters that project it. Though he is a far more human and less desperate writer than they, he is like the Surrealists, and shares their aridity, to this extent: what he gives us is more the idea of the fantasy than its concreteness. There is a curious numbness, an inordinate slowness and remoteness in his book, that come only from his failure, or his disinclination, to develop each element in his story as richly as a less symbolic novelist would develop his characters. There one has to infer meanings, but one can infer them; here one has to infer the life—sometimes its most elementary sequences—in which the meaning is rooted. The meaning is there, much more of it, I am sure, than I have been able to grasp after one reading, but it is abstract, dry, resigned. It is as if Sender were the only real human character in it—the modern man, the very modern moralist, who seeks only understanding, crying after it: Yes, Lord, we accept this.

ALFRED KAZIN

Air Strategy

The Air Offensive Against Germany, by Allan A. Michie. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 152 pages, illustrated. $2.

SEVERSKY, ZIFF AND MICHIE—and the soundest of these is Michie. In this small volume, quickly written to be quickly read, one of the most capable and experienced of the current crop of war correspondents tells us what he thinks is wrong with the past and present air offensives against Germany, and what he thinks should be done to perfect the future offensive so that victory in the West may be achieved in 1943. Mr. Michie's book is the soundest of the three devoted to this problem, simply because he is the best writer of the three mentioned and because he is not pleading the cause of special interests which stand to gain, in a material sense, from the adoption of their theories. But Mr. Michie's book is made up of advocacy rather than judicial findings, and he makes no attempt to conceal the fact that he is pleading the case of the RAF Bomber Command.

The Bomber Command executed the first air raid against Germany on September 4, 1939, when it sent out twenty-nine two-motored planes to attack Wilhelmshaven. One returned. The Bomber Command learned its lesson. In August and September, 1940, the Luftwaffe sent fleets of bombers over Britain in daylight, first without and then with fighter escort. The Luftwaffe learned its lesson, and switched to night attacks. By May, 1941, it had learned another lesson. In 1941 the British tried daylight bombing of Brest with Flying Fortresses. These planes were of an early model, inadequately armed (although the armament had been increased, at British insistence), they lacked the much advertised Norden bomb-sight and they lacked pressure cabins, and they were deficient in load-carrying capacity. The British learned another lesson. In April, 1942, they sent twelve Lancasters to bomb the Diesel-engine works at Augsburg by daylight. Five came back—another lesson.

Mr. Michie's book is, in effect, a recital of such evidence as this, and an inquiry into the question whether the United States Army Air Forces, under the command of the ineffable Lt.-Gen. Henry H. Arnold, have learned anything from them. In the long run, perhaps Michie's most valuable contribution will prove to be his cold analysis of how the Army Air Forces' claims, and the still more exaggerated headlines, which give rise to still further exaggerations in the popular mind, compare with the facts. The American public has been kidded. If the British public had been kidded the same way in 1939 and 1940, they would have been kidded, literally, to death. The Atlantic saves us from what might otherwise be the fatal consequences of self-delusion.

The merits and demerits of the Flying Fortress and Liberator bombers are discussed in dispassionate detail; they may already be the finest planes in the world for operating in the Pacific and Caribbean, for which they were designed; Mr. Michie believes that with a few simple changes they can be made suitable for the vastly different operating conditions of Northwestern Europe.

These changes must be made, Mr. Michie insists, in the heavy bombers of the Army Air Forces now in Britain, and in those still to come from the assembly lines. But at the same time, he says, we must step up the production of our new and better bombers, the B-29s, B-32s and B-49s, since the Fortress (B-17) and the Liberator (B-24) are already obsolescent. So far, his evidence is incontrovertible and his thesis sound. But then Mr. Michie argues with great emphasis and some persuasiveness that the Army Air Forces must abandon daylight attacks until they can be made with virtually no opposition (by which time the war in Europe will be as good as won); that we must retrain our crews for night operations under actual European weather conditions (a long and perhaps costly process), and that we must adopt the Bomber Command's concept of concentrated night bombing.

This reviewer is just as filled with admiration of the RAF as is Mr. Michie, and just as disgusted with some of the isolationist policies of the USAAF, but by no means so convinced that either day or night bombing should be abandoned in favor of the other. Mr. Michie ignores two important factors: first, the exhaustion of defenses which would result from daylight attacks by American bombers

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on a given target, whether it be Wilhelmshaven or Cologne, if followed that same night by attacks of equal or greater weight by the British; second, the danger of inflicting too great casualties on civilian populations in the occupied countries by night bombing, which admittedly is less accurate. (This squeamishness about civilian casualties should not extend to Germany, however.)

Mr. Michie underestimates the difficulties of switching our anti-submarine campaign from operating bases to points of manufacture or assembly. Some compromise between the Coastal Command and the Bomber Command in that respect will still be necessary even when the great offensive is well under way. So will a compromise between day and night bombing. Mr. Michie still has not found the final answer to our problems; he has made a valuable, carefully reasoned, *ex-parte* contribution to the final answer.

GILBERT CANT

Ordeal by Water

Seven Came Through, by Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 118 pages. $1.50.
We Thought We Heard the Angels Sing, by Lt. James C. Whittaker. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 139 pages. $1.50.

FOR TWENTY-ONE DAYS seven men, who at first had been eight, drifted over the South Pacific on three canvas rafts. Although similar ordeals have lasted far longer, theirs was made more strenuous by the lack of any of the food and equipment with which rafts and lifeboats are normally provisioned. Long after the search for them had been abandoned, they were sighted by a sharp-eyed navy pilot on the lookout for Japanese movements, and shortly after that they were picked up and carried to safety. Most of the men attributed their rescue to divine intervention, for which they had nightly prayed. However that may be, it is certain that they would not have lived long enough to be saved had it not been for the extraordinary character of Eddie Rickenbacker, who forced them to live when they wanted to die.

And that is the single and important fact that emerges from both these books. In his introduction to "Seven Came Through," W. L. White describes Rickenbacker as an "elemental force." That may be a bit thick, but nevertheless it suggests the truth. No one who reads either book can come away with the feeling that Rickenbacker, like Lindbergh, is nothing but an able flier making political capital of a minor talent and prodigious luck. This Rickenbacker, this social menace, is a strong, brave, immensely likable man with an instinct for survival far greater than that in most of his fellows. In the primitive and intimate society of the rafts his leadership was uncontested. He asserted it first when, a few minutes before their Flying Fortress hit the ocean, he made and by himself executed plans for evacuating the plane. Once on the water he urged that the rafts be kept together, and this was done by means of a length of rope which he had thoughtfully wrapped around his belly while still aboard the Fortress. As the days went on, he grew faster than the others in resourcefulness. When a gull lighted on his head he deftly snatched it, divided its meat and used its intestines to bait the first catch of fish. A kind of basic democracy in him put an end to all quibbling over rank and command. As one by one men grew frightened and showed signs of funking, he cursed and brutalized them with a truly marvelous string of profanity and gibes. But he could be tender with them too, as he was when for two days and nights he cradled in his arms the dying Sergeant Alex Kaczmarczyk. Like all the others, he experienced a kind of religious conversion, but, unlike the rest, he was never once inclined to resign himself to death or to leave his salvation to God. Rickenbacker had great faith in Rickenbacker.

As stories of suffering and sacrifice, both these books are moving, but no more so than many like them that have recently been published. They would hardly be important if the character of Rickenbacker were not the prime ingredient of each. His own book is adequately written and close to the facts. Whittaker's, done with the assistance of a Chicago Tribune reporter, is florid in style and often corny in sentiment. I find it hard to determine just what relation, if any, the characteristics demonstrated in these pages bear to Rickenbacker's present activities. Most of them are not qualities particularly useful in politics, at least not of the kind he is now playing. Yet I do not think it fair to state that he is simply cashing in on the publicity that accrues from so heroic an adventure. The more important lesson is that when a man survives an ordeal like his, the original bias, in Rickenbacker's case reactionary, is greatly strengthened. In other words, war breeds fanatics where men of only mild conviction stood before. And with millions of young Americans being tested in fire, a lot of mild convictions are likely to be tempered to fanaticism. That may be one of our greatest post-war problems.

RICHARD H. ROVERE

A Reader's List

SOVIET PLANNING IN WAR TIME (Political and Economic Planning, available through The New Republic, 25 cents). Drawing on published sources which admittedly leave some gaps in the picture, this broadsheet gives a handy summary of the methods used by the Soviet to adapt its industrial output to the needs of war. The USSR has produced its seemingly miraculous results partly by reason of its previously existing machinery for centralized decisions, under which the state can formulate a single plan covering all economic activity. (Decisions include labor conscription for men and women, increase of working hours to sixty a week or more, and an intensive labor-training program.) The booklet also summarizes very interestingly the part that has been taken in this planning by the Soviet trade unions, to which 85 percent of all workers and wage-earners belong. It is in trade-union activities, so little understood outside of the USSR, that the Russian people seem to feel that they possess the reality of democratic power. This "workshop democracy" is perhaps the important clue to the strength of Soviet war economy.

JOINT PRODUCTION COMMITTEES IN GREAT BRITAIN (International Labor Office, 50 cents). The growth of employer-worker production committees at the plant level is perhaps the most significant development on the labor front during the war. The idea has been carried much further in Britain than here. This booklet summarizes

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the British experience, outlines the chief problems which arise in the course of setting up the committees and shows how they were solved. The basis of success for the committees is a firm belief in the principles of collective bargaining.

BAUDELAIRE THE CRITIC, by Margaret Gilman (Columbia, $3). Taking as her cue Baudelaire's own dictum that "the poet is the best of all critics," Professor Gilman has prepared a thoroughgoing scholarly *resumé* of all of the former's criticism, with much emphasis on the influences of Delacroix, Poe, Stendhal and de Maistre. Baudelaire is perhaps overrated as a critic; his "ideas" are sometimes taken more seriously than they were probably intended by the *mystificateur*; and little attempt is made to relate the criticism to the poetry—more precisely, to show the manner in which critical intelligence guides poetic sensibility, in Baudelaire's case usually considered the most striking feature of his work. Because so little of this criticism is accessible in English translation the study should have a certain usefulness, but it will not mean a great deal to those acquainted with the original materials.

THE AMERICAN LEONARDO: THE LIFE OF SAMUEL F. B. MORSE, by Carleton Mabee (Knopf, $5). An honest, painstaking, scrupulously documented biography of the man best known for his perfection and promotion of the electromagnetic telegraph. Unfortunately, Mr. Mabee's book does not justify the pretensions of his title, for despite a busy, crowded life, Morse is a rather unimpressive figure. Versatile, yes, but not at all a cultural Titan. As an artist, he was competent but hardly a Leonardo. As an inventor, he had none of the training, little of the philosophic stature of a scientist, and was interested in the telegraph mainly as a source of economic security. As a political leader, he championed narrow, reactionary causes: nativism, anti-Catholicism, prohibition, slavery. As a scientific dilettante, however, his contributions were varied. Besides the telegraph, he conceived the idea of the Atlantic Cable, and is known as "the father of American photography." It is perhaps because Morse, with his personal battles and law suits, was a rather uninteresting man, that he has been incapable of inspiring an imaginative, first-rate biography. Mr. Mabee's book is a dull chronological record, but not for want of trying. Illustrations of Morse's work.

WITH SHERMAN TO THE SEA: The Journal of Theodore F. Upson, edited by Oscar Osburn Winther (Louisiana State, $2.25). The diary of a very young Union soldier who marched east from Atlanta with Sherman. Contains some fine descriptive writing, but is most interesting for the picture it gives of a Hoosier boy in his teens trying to settle the slavery issue in his own mind. After some heavy soul-searching he comes out on the side of the angels, and the process, as recorded in his letters and diary, is fascinating.

THE SILENT WAR, by Jon B. Jansen and Stefan Weyl (Lippincott, $2.75). An exciting account of the German underground, probably as complete as anything we shall get before the end of the war. On any other topic it would seem most inadequate, for the method is highly subjective, and isolated facts are given more weight than they can properly sustain. Nevertheless, some stories are obviously significant: for example that of Ernest, a teen-age leader of a band of German Dead End kids who hate Nazism and heave rocks at the Hitler Youth. If there is anything in Ernst's report that there are many like him, the future of the "Nazi generation" may not be so dark as we now assume. Compiled mostly from the authors' experiences in the underground, which ended years ago, and from letters since received, the book is exciting if not always convincing.

Contributors

RALPH BARTON PERRY, professor of Philosophy at Harvard University, won the 1937 Pulitzer Prize in biography for "The Thought and Character of William James." He is chairman of the Harvard Group of American Defense, an organization working to promote better international relations.

A. G. MEZERIK has had wide experience in the field of conservation and standards for consumers' goods. He was organizer and managing director of the Institute of Standards. As consultant to the American Hotel Association he has supervised many tests of materials and equipment. He also has been acting as consultant to the American Standards Association.

JENNIE LEE is the well known Scottish trade-unionist and political figure. Her autobiography, "This Great Journey," was published last year.

RUSSELL M. ROBERTS is a reporter on the staff of The Emporia Gazette.

GILBERT CANT, war editor of The New York Post, is the author of "The War at Sea," and is now completing a manuscript, "America's Navy in World War II," to be published in May by the John Day Company.

RICHARD ROVERE, managing editor of Common Sense, was formerly on the staff of The Nation.

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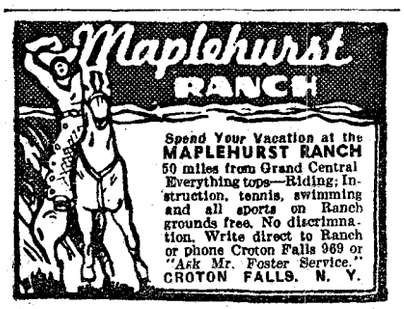
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